

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 2, No. 46

Oct. 11-17, 1978

50 Cents

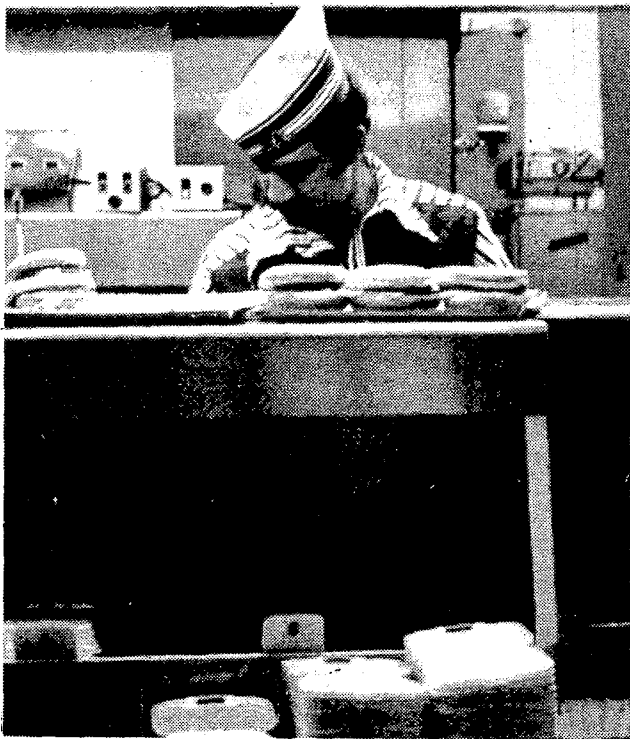
THE SILKWOOD TRAIL: TOO HOT TO HANDLE. TOO COOL TO FOLLOW?



THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

Ken Firestone



A Warning Label on Big Macs

A recent bulletin from the Washington University Center for the Biology of Natural Systems at St. Louis suggests that a fast-fried well-done hamburger may cause cancer.

When hamburgers are fried under high-temperatures, chemical compounds called mutagens form on their surface. Ninety percent of these compounds have been found to cause cancer in laboratory animals. The Center's report concludes that "the mutagens which are produced when hamburgers are cooked in certain ways will probably cause cancer in laboratory animals. It is generally agreed that a substance that can cause cancer in animals represents a risk of cancer to people who are also exposed to it."

The Center advises hamburger buffs to broil their burgers and eat them rare. Broiling subjects hamburger surfaces to less heat than frying and therefore doesn't produce mutagens.

Big government boondoggle

Do the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* read the *Chicago Tribune*? Evidently not. A Sept. 14 front-page article in the *WSJ* reported that minority businesses have prospered during federal "set-aside" programs, which were devised in the '60s to alleviate minority poverty.

These programs either target a certain percentage of an agency's federal contracts to minority businesses or require that contractors sub-contract a certain percentage of their business to minority firms.

The *WSJ* cites a rise in federal minority contracts from \$807 million in 1975 to \$1.2 billion in 1977. It also quotes government officials to the effect that the Bakke decision will not "change the trend."

But if a sensational four-part expose that began running in the *Chicago Tribune* on Sept. 10 is correct, the *WSJ*'s gross figures are meaningless. The *Tribune* charged that both white and minority contractors have found ways to subvert the original purpose of the programs.

The *Tribune* claimed that in order to get around the requirement that a certain percentage of a job be sub-contracted out to a minority firm, white contractors were entering into phony partnerships with minority contractors. It cited, among other examples, Donald

Mudgett, the president of Michigan Electric, Inc., in Ravenna, Mich. To bid on a \$89,694 federal contract, Mudgett had to subcontract out 10 percent. He gave Tom Mason, a black electrician, \$11,000 to buy materials; Mason bought \$10,000 worth of materials and kept \$1000 as a fee. Mason did no work on the project beyond that, but Mudgett was able to cite him as his 10 percent.

The *Tribune* quoted Jerry Abrantes, a Mohawk Indian contractor in Syracuse, N.Y., who says he has resisted entering into such partnerships. "All I had to do," Abrantes told the *Tribune*, "was fill out the appropriate government papers and sign them. I figure I could have made \$150,000 just for signing my name."

The *Tribune* study also charged that minority middlemen were accepting government contracts on behalf of dummy firms and then subcontracting the work out to white firms. It cited the case of Noah Robinson, half-brother of Rev. Jesse Jackson, who is director of Breadbasket Commercial Association, which has received a grant to find minority contractors from the U.S. Office of Minority Business.

Robinson, the *Tribune* charged, had steered numerous federal contracts to firms of which he or a close relative was president. These firms often had few more visible assets than a phone number. For instance, the Robinson Group, headed by John A. Robinson, Noah's brother, recently received \$1,442,476 worth of federal sanitary contracts, but it did not even have an office. The *Tribune* charged that the bulk of the work was then subcontracted out to white firms.

In response to the *Tribune*'s series, Walter Farr, chief counsel for the Economic Development Administration, announced that he would investigate the set-aside practices.

China's pernicious weed

Admirers of China's health system have often wondered why the Communist party did not offer so much as a warning about the dangers of smoking. The *Christian Science Monitor* reports that it has finally begun to do so.

Recent articles in the *Kuangming Daily* have linked cigarette smoking to lung cancer. "Young people are the successors of our revolutionary cause. So the party and state must show special care for their healthy growth," one article concludes.

The article also blames the delay of an anti-smoking campaign on the "pernicious influence of the 'gang of four.'"

The Chinese government is the largest cigarette manufacturer in the world. It produces 725 billion of the 4.2 trillion cigarettes produced yearly around the world. The *Monitor* estimates that an equal amount of tobacco is grown in private backyard plots.

Part of the government's reluctance to undertake an anti-smoking campaign has been traced to the revenues brought in by a 60 percent tax on cigarette sales.

Money, money everywhere

Businessmen hungering after easy credit and economists looking for simple explanations invariably hit upon the capital shortage as the cause of American economic problems. If corporations are not expanding, the argument goes, it must be because they do not have the capital to do so.

Guess again. According to *Business Week*'s "Corporate Cash Scoreboard" (Sept. 18), corporations are awash in \$80 billion of ready cash. Instead of investing their

profits in new plants and equipment, corporations have been buying short-term treasury notes, certificates of deposit, and other corporations. The effect of these purchases is simply to recycle the cash surplus.

According to W.T. Grimm, a Chicago consulting firm, 1978 has been a banner year for mergers. There have been 37 mergers, each involving more than \$100 million in assets, in the first half of 1978, compared to 20 in the first half of 1977 and 14 in all of 1975.

The cash surplus makes *BW* pessimistic about popular corporate remedies for the investment blight. "Carter administration officials may argue that such cash-producing devices as a permanent 10 percent investment tax credit would stimulate investment, but the reality is that record corporate earnings have so far merely added to corporate cash without firing the long-overdue spending boom."

Would you invite a Martian to dinner?

Since the '30s, pollsters have been gradually replacing historians, social scientists, and literary critics as the prime arbiters of American beliefs and customs. Presidents now claim pollsters for their close advisors; and poll-production has become a booming industry.

Recently a magazine arrived in our office named *National Opinion Poll*. By reading this magazine, one is promised to "have an impact on the most important national decisions affecting your life." In its October issue, *NOP* reported polls it had conducted on everything from whether one should negotiate with terrorists to whether UFO investigations should be federally funded.

The UFO poll was particularly significant. *NOP* found that Americans were opposed to such an investigation by a whopping 75 to 21 percent. It broke this figure down into its relevant components. Twenty-seven percent of under-30s favor UFO investigation versus only 13 percent of over-50s; 25 percent of Democrats versus 17 percent of Republicans (perhaps due merely to anti-spending biases); 23 percent of college graduates want UFO investigations versus 7 percent who stopped at grammar school; 28 percent of Easterners versus only 7 percent of Southwesterners; and 23 percent of Catholics versus 18 percent of Protestants.

It's the representation not the taxation

The *Washington Post* has released a poll it did on the tax revolt, based on 1756 phone interviews in early September. The poll shows that government waste and inefficiency, not taxes *per se*, are the target of the tax revolt.

The *Post* asked those polled to choose between two candidates: "Candidate A says we should cut spending on government programs and reduce taxes; Candidate B says we should keep taxes the same but make government programs more efficient so that they do what they are supposed to do." Sixty-four percent chose candidate B, 31 percent chose candidate A, and 5 percent were undecided. The proportion was similar, the *Post* found, for different ages, incomes, regions, and political affiliations.

The *Post* also asked people what one or two areas they would like to see cut if local government had to cut spending. Forty-four percent would recommend no cuts; 24 percent singled out government pay, pensions and waste; and only 14 percent named welfare. ■

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except for the fourth week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois.

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BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308 (404) 881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689.

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IN THE NATION

ELECTIONS



Thompson pockets Demos, sure of win

By David Moberg

RUNNING AS A DEMOCRAT against incumbent Illinois Governor James Thompson seemed "suicidal," Mike Bakalis frankly admitted to a small noontime gathering of liberal politicians. It is so suicidal that the main question on the political agenda is not who will be the next governor of Illinois, but rather when will Gov. Thompson announce his candidacy for the Presidency.

Thompson is regularly mentioned in the top ranks of Republican hopes for recapturing the White House with good reasons despite his extremely limited experience and unimpressive record as governor. He is an imposing figure, who can nevertheless seem open and friendly. He is trendy enough for the youth, stuffy enough for the businessmen. He is a traditional conservative Republican on most economic issues and a tough-talking hawk on crime, but he embraces enough liberal ideas on matters such as women's rights to appeal to many middle-class professionals. He has also demonstrated an ability to penetrate traditional Democratic strongholds, such as the labor unions.

Thompson is a bit more discreet now, especially in the midst of a gubernatorial campaign, about his presidential ambitions, but they have never been in doubt. He has been eyeing the post since he was 11 years old. When he's done with it, he hopes to finish out his years on the Supreme Court, in the manner of William Howard Taft. His experience of recent years should bolster those childhood dreams.

Wave of apathy.

Thompson rose rapidly in the U.S. attorney's office as he sent to jail at least 259 politicians and their cronies, most of them Democrats and many of them the closest confidants of the late Mayor Richard Daley. Then in his first run for office in 1976, Thompson took on a Dem-

ocratic candidate who had been weakened and scarred in a bloody primary. He won his special two-year term by the largest plurality in Illinois history. The strongest Democratic vote-getters shunned tangling with such opposition. So Michael Bakalis, 40, a clean-cut, handsome former history professor and state school super-

intendent now serving as comptroller, picked up the party banner.

Illinois governor Jim Thompson is running against Democrat Michael Bakalis, a former history professor. The Republican expects to win.

One poll shows Thompson leading by a two-to-one margin. Bakalis hasn't seriously wounded the governor with his charges of inaction, and he hasn't even succeeded in differentiating himself sufficiently to convince many traditional Democrats to back him. Bakalis even suggested that in this "strange" election year he might ride to victory on a "wave of apathy," as the regular Democrats turn out loyal troops and everyone else stays home out of ennui.

"The common denominator of [this election's] strangeness is an apathy and a shrug of the shoulders that says, 'Who cares?'" he said.

Could it be that voters don't see him as ideologically different from Thompson? "There's some truth to that public perception," Bakalis replied. "Thompson tries to run a campaign that plays down his Republicanism. There are differences, but he has stolen the Democratic initiatives. The basic difference is that he hasn't come forward with any programs."

Certainly Thompson is not proposing much that would cost money. His main claim to political merit is holding down state spending and taxes to produce a

small surplus and keep up the state bond ratings—accomplished, in part, thanks to a reviving economy that also aids him by reducing unemployment and welfare rolls.

Rude, ruthless ambition. Yet if Thompson has played down his Republicanism and won friends in odd

places, such as otherwise Democratic labor unions, it could also be said that Bakalis has played down any liberal Democratic tradition. He has failed to consolidate the Democratic base or certainly to win over many independents by promising to do better everything Thompson tries—hold down spending, cut taxes, lure businesses with new breaks, stop welfare fraud, root out government waste—while showing "heart."

Thompson has accomplished little and initiated less, in his brief term. Yet he has concocted an image that is disarming and thrown up an ideological fog sufficiently confusing to make some people refer to him as a Republican Jerry Brown.

Thompson is fashionably athletic (plays racquetball), although some pudginess is returning to his 6 foot-6 inch frame. He married in time for the first election, had a child for the second, putting to rest some of the traditional disquiet about bachelor politicians. By using a converted Checker cab as a limousine, playing with his three dogs in the well-appointed governor's mansion, and collecting antiques, he appears just hip enough to seem charming but not eccentric. A wooden speaker, he nevertheless projects an easy conversational style on television. His weaknesses: an easily inflamed temper

and—according to some Republicans—an ambition that seems rude and ruthless, although that's rarely a serious drawback in politics.

In office, Thompson has played the tightfisted fiscal conservative, the orderly administrator, the hard-nosed prosecutor-sheriff, the tax-cutter, the crafty political compromiser and even the feminist with varying degrees of success whenever the political plot demanded it.

His major legislative initiative was introducing a catchy label for a new set of stiff, determinate sentences for serious crimes—"Class X." The "prosecutor mentality" that civil libertarians dislike about Thompson also showed itself in his zealous approval of the death penalty. Such attitudes came as no surprise. He had always been a law-and-order attorney, who argued in the Supreme Court against the Excobedo decision that guaranteed suspects questioned by police notification of their rights to have a lawyer.

Continued on page 4.

Bakalis can't get machine in gear

Continued from page 3.

available to him and said that he'd vote for the proposition anyway. Thompson has since tried to undo the proposition's one virtue—its non-binding meaningfulness—by promising that if it is approved, he will push for constitutional limits on both taxes and spending in the next legislature.

The Thompson Proposition allowed the governor to recover some lost ground on taxes and perhaps raise the voter turnout by providing some excitement—so far not the case. But it was a difficult, risky task to get over 589,000 signatures in a month. He succeeded, but when bounties of \$100 for 750 signatures were offered out of campaign funds, the enterprise looked like low-level political huckstering. Then thousands of forgeries and other invalid signatures were discovered and the corruption-fighting prosecutor's reputation was tarnished.

With the Chicago machine.

By following the chaotic, combative administration of Gov. Daniel Walker, Thompson could do a few easy things that made him seem like a reasonable administrator by comparison. He signed contracts with public workers that Walker had left hanging, and provided a small pay increase that satisfied the unions as the best they could get. He approved a 5 percent cost-of-living increase for welfare after four years of frozen stipends, giving him the appearance of unextravagant compassion, even though social services have continued to be sorely restricted under Thompson.

After his election, Thompson, the crafty political strategist, moved to work with rather than fight the Chicago Democratic machine. He reversed his campaign promise and reached an agreement with Mayor Michael Bilandic to build the major part of a multi-billion dollar, highly controversial Crosstown Expressway that Walker had blocked, in response to citizen pressure. Thompson thus won Chicago Democrats' support of his "austerity" budget and gave himself a claim to having one of the largest road programs in the nation, even though other highways are crumbling. Later he pleased Chicago Democrats and their real estate developer friends by approving purchase for state offices of the old Sherman House hotel in the north Loop, an area slated for massive clearance and reconstruction.

Thompson's switches on positions and eye for political gimmicks that please the crowd have led critics to regard him as even more duplicitous and opportunistic than most successful politicians. His greatest problems have cropped up with women's issues. That is ironic since Thompson's positions generally would make him more attractive to feminists than Bakalis. For example, Thompson vetoed bills that would have banned using state funds for abortions or paying for health insurance that covered abortions for state workers. Bakalis, who personally opposes abortion but respects the Supreme Court rulings, urged the legislature to override Thompson's vetoes.

However, feminists charge that Thompson only supports their views but doesn't advocate or fight for them. He did not use his muscle effectively to get Republican votes for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. His lieutenant governor even lobbied against it. The same day Thompson told ERA supporters to fight for pro-ERA legislators in their districts, he endorsed an anti-ERA Republican in the primary against a woman who strongly backed the ERA.

Disappointment to blacks.

Blacks are even less satisfied. Thompson drew 28 percent of the black vote in the last election, but should get no more than 10 to 15 percent of a low turnout of blacks this time, according to Timuel Black, founder of the United Black Voters, who backed Thompson last time in exchange

for a nine-point pledge, including promises of economic development, black appointments and greater access of blacks to the governor.

"Thompson has kept none of the things he promised," Black says, explaining the group's current refusal to endorse either candidate. "Thompson has been a disappointment, not that blacks think so much of Bakalis. An appeal is being made to suburbia. They can't appeal to the urban poor and the middle-class, mainly white suburbanites at the same time, because the kind of things they'd have to promise to blacks and the poor involve government spending." Blacks have been virtually ignored so far in this campaign, partly because their turnout at the polls has been steadily dropping, although Bakalis could use all the help he can get.

Thompson has also disappointed the reform forces of the Independent Voters of Illinois, an affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action. Last time they backed Thompson as the great machine-buster; this time Bakalis barely won out over abstention. That's the sad saga for Bakalis: even those who don't like Thompson can't muster strong arguments for Bakalis. He's not a bad guy, but he offers little if anything distinctive or progressive. Yet more decisively, he's been tagged a sure loser. "Just between you and me," one labor leader said, "the only way I see Thompson losing is if he gets caught mugging a 90-year-old woman."

Labor goes with winner.

Thompson, in line with his announced plans, has won a bit more labor support this time in large part because some unions have decided to get power by going with a winner. Teamsters, Service Employees, Laborers, Operating Engineers, the Illinois Educational Association, Graphic Arts and a few other unions have endorsed Thompson, who has undercut Bakalis' support elsewhere as well. Both the state, county and municipal workers (AFSCME) and the United Auto Workers remain neutral in the race. Although Bakalis won the AFL-CIO endorsement by a large margin, leaders favored him mainly in order to minimize Republican chances to win the state legislature. Others feared that endorsement of Thompson would lead to vindictive retribution by Chicago Democrats.

The labor-Democratic liaison may be a bit more strained, particularly since the death of Mayor Daley, but the shifts to Republican candidates rest more on special circumstances than on any decisive realignment. For example, the AFL-CIO and the UAW made unprecedented endorsements of Republicans Charles Percy for Senator and William Scott for attorney, but those came because of lackluster Democratic opposition and fairly liberal records by the Republicans, especially Scott on pollution standards.

Bakalis was hurt by not having established any close relationship with unions in his past two public offices. Also, last spring he offended union leaders with a speech lumping "big unions" in with business as centers of unaccountable power. At other points he has also stepped on labor's toes, even though he later has tried to make amends.

Praise from state workers.

Thompson has won much praise for strongly supporting a state collective bargaining law for public employees, which the Chicago Democrats, who are more devoted to patronage than to God or family or union, have consistently opposed. He promptly negotiated state employee contracts and reinstituted a "prevailing wage" agreement that gives state workers pay comparable to private industry. The Illinois Educational Association sees him as an advocate of greater school spending, even though they are fighting the Thompson Proposition and lobbied last year to increase the gover-



Ken Firestone

nor's proposed education budget.

The purchase of the Sherman House pleased construction unions and the Teamsters, who had a financial stake in it. Likewise the Crosstown deal pleased many construction unions. He won over the Teamsters, many of whose leaders—like those in Operating Engineers and some other unions—are conservatives and Republicans, by consistently treating the trucking industry well. And he has promised to veto any right-to-work legislation in Illinois.

Not all of his efforts to seduce the unions have worked, however. Despite his issuance of an executive order to buy only domestic steel for a year, the Steelworkers endorsed Bakalis.

Thompson's virtually certain victory, however, enticed some union leaders to march in his parade. "The incumbency does carry a lot of weight," says Eugene Moats, head of the 90,000-member state council of the Service Employees, which represents many state workers. "That plays a major role in the question of who's a better candidate."

"We can't be taken for granted," Moats continued. "Labor is essentially aligned with the Democratic candidates and platform, but we have different motives in slating candidates than the party does."

In the UAW, informed sources say, regional director Robert Johnston's motive in urging Thompson's endorsement was finding a state job if he is barred from running for re-election because of age. Thompson had already seduced Johnston by appointing a UAW man head of the state labor department. However, many local leaders were angry with Thompson for his support of cutting unemployment and workers' compensation benefits. Rather than buck their director, though, delegates chose neutrality.

"Thompson, for a Republican governor, has generally been very supportive," one AFSCME official said, explaining their neutrality. "Both he and Bakalis were very much seeking our votes. It was a tough decision. But the fact that you have Republicans coming to labor unions and talking, even coming out well on some votes, while Bilandic fights against firefighters having a contract, that's a healthy thing. I'm no Republican, but it will force the Democrats to reconsider some of their positions if they want to be known as the 'friends of labor.'"

Thompson-watchers often wonder exactly who can count on him as friend. Although he has called himself a "liberal Republican," IVI director Keith Lesnick places him in the Howard Baker-Robert Taft lineage. Political strategist Don Rose says he's "at the conservative edge of the Republican center at best."

Because he comes from a northern industrial state and because he affects slightly hip tastes, he sometimes seems liberal. Likewise his stands on some women's issues are liberal, even though on crime and many civil liberties questions he is a hard-liner conservative. His economic policies are pitched entirely toward "improving the business climate," by granting concessions to capitalists, and his fiscal conservatism sets him at odds with any social welfare legislation that requires government expenditure or redistribution of income.

Thompson's dilemma, shared by other Republican presidential aspirants, is that he must please the strong core of right-wing Republicans in order to win within the party, yet if he is to have a chance of winning the election, he must appear as a consensus candidate who can win over Democrats and independents. His own mix of ideological stances might be juggled with sufficient adroitness to obscure this political schizophrenia, but the potential for damaging clashes of interest among the various constituencies Thompson has drawn together behind him is great.

Even within the state party, Thompson faces resentment from old-line politicians who think he has not delivered them patronage and who distrust him as not sufficiently indebted to the party. Also, numerous other presidential hopefuls from Illinois—from Rep. Philip Crane on the far right to Sen. Charles Percy or Rep. John Anderson on the liberal edge—could weaken Thompson's home base backing.

The platform elevating "Big Jim" to the presidential speculation has been built rapidly and with weak foundations. It looks impressive now, but it may fail to support a heavy load as time rolls on and scrutiny of the Thompson political edifice increases. Yet if the Democrats respond as poorly nationally to a Thompson campaign as they have in Illinois, there could be three dogs and a Checker cab in the White House a few years from now.

By Thomas Noland

ASHLAND, ALA.

THE SOUTH

Old guard whistles Dixie, new Demos change their tune

THE FARMER WORE HIS FADED "Albert Brewer for Governor" hat—the one with the tooth-marks on the brim—as he waited in the courthouse square for his candidate. A front-runner among 13 Democratic contenders, Brewer was campaigning in Ashland for the first time since 1970, and the farmer wanted to be part of the victory that had eluded his man eight years ago.

That was when the farmer was so sure Albert Brewer would beat George Wallace in the Democratic runoff, he said he'd eat his hat if it didn't happen. It didn't, and he did. Now Wallace was out—barred by law from seeking a third term, too weak from his shooting in Maryland six years ago to campaign for the U.S. Senate—and he thought that nothing would stop Brewer.

A month later, when Brewer finished third in the Sept. 5 Democratic primary, the farmer did not even vote for him. Why he switched to Fob James, a politically unknown millionaire, is a key to this political year in Alabama, a year in which voters had unprecedented opportunities to break with tradition.

The farmer will say he switched to James because Brewer was evasive. Brewer ran from questions; James answered them, sounding more like a statesman than a politician, with shirt-sleeved assurance reminiscent of Robert Kennedy. He will say he switched because he discovered James to be "a nice fella," which is to say James is a remarkably one-to-one campaigner.

What he will not say is that he was disillusioned with Brewer and other representatives of Alabama's political past. He will not say so because he is still a little uncomfortable about it; he almost feels like a traitor.

More American than Southern.

Like Georgia voters in 1970, who elected Jimmy Carter after four years of Lester Maddox as governor, Alabamians cast their ballots this fall to rejoin the union. Those who likely will replace the three chief architects of Alabama's peculiar conservatism—Wallace, the late Sen. James B. Allen and, to a lesser extent, Sen. John Sparkman—are young, inexperienced and more American than southern.

They have little patience with the halcyon Dixie tradition of the noble loser, the dashing anachronism whose histrionics call up cherished anecdotes of the Lost Cause. There is no charm-of-the-defeated for them. They are practical, methodical men who are shrewd enough to realize the future of Alabama will be counted in greenbacks, not pink Confederate notes.

When Fob James is sworn in at the Capitol in January (barring a miracle upset by Republican Guy Hunt), he will stand where Jefferson Davis stood to take another oath of office in 1861. But James is no more like Davis than Carter—another businessman-turned-politician—is like Maddox, or Mississippi's Gov. Cliff Finch is like his predecessor Ross Barnett.

James made his name in the '50s as a football star at Auburn (any Alabama political figure who didn't go to "the university," where Paul "Bear" Bryant coaches, had better have gone to Auburn). Afterwards, he played one year for the Montreal Alouettes in the Canadian league. In 1961 he founded Diversified Products, Inc., a sporting-goods concern, in his hometown of Opelika. James became rich when he coated his barbells with plastic so they wouldn't scratch gymnasium floors. Diversified Products now has several plants in Alabama and California, and it provided him with enough money to launch his first campaign for political office.

It was not his first involvement in politics, however, as James' run-off opponent Attorney General William Baxley, was fond of saying. James served on the State Republican Executive Committee in the early '70s.

A generation ago that would have finished off James' campaign. But Alabamians had no trouble voting for Barry Goldwater in 1964 and Richard Nixon in 1972.



Fob James, Democratic nominee, will probably be Alabama's next governor.

As one long-time observer put it, "We haven't had Democratic politics here in the last 20 years. We've had the politics of George Wallace, period."

James confronted the issue and turned it to his advantage. He told voters he served on the committee when the McGovernites "stole" the Democratic party,

and a good many heads nodded fiercely. They also switched parties then; they simply were more private about it. In Alabama, as Wallace likes to say, there is "not a dime's worth of difference" between the parties anyway, and as Reconstruction recedes further in time, the governor's statement becomes more apt.

Attorney General would electrocute criminals "til their eyes pop out."

MOBILE, ALA.

Sally, a wavy-haired prostitute in a leopard-print dress, sipped a champagne cocktail in a bar not far from the Mobile County Courthouse.

"What I'm doing, it's not illegal," she said blithely.

Someone corrected her.

"Oh. Well, technically it is," she responded. "I wouldn't solicit outside. But inside, everything's cool."

Inside, everything's dark. Outside, despite the night, it is easy to see everything is unmistakably Mobile—the Port City with a grip so tenuous on the rest of Alabama it seems about ready to slip into the Gulf of Mexico and float toward more tolerant climes. New Orleans-style grillwork, the pungent smell of saltwater fish and neon-lit honky-tonks make Mobile so distinctive that one Alabama politician described it as "hermetically sealed."

And a look at the record shows he was not kidding—at least politically. Charlie Graddick, the stern, lock-em-up Mobile district attorney, became the first Mobilian in this century to win a major state office when he was elected attorney general over Joe Fine last month.

It's one thing to be tough on crime, but Graddick's campaign bordered on verbal terrorism. He billed himself as "a man of convictions." He boasted of having put more people on death row than anyone in Alabama. But he denied the most notorious comment attributed to him. Speaking to a civic club about the virtues of electrocuting criminals, he is supposed to have said he wanted to "fry 'em till their eyes pop out and smoke comes out their ears."

His opponent dubbed him "Electric Chair Charlie" after that, and Fine made a point of bringing it up often in the run-off campaign. Graddick said it wasn't so. Nonetheless, he never denied his firm belief in the death penalty, not even to blacks who thought he was aiming at them and who voted overwhelmingly for Fine.

"I am not bloodthirsty," Graddick told his critics. It sounded like Nixon denying he was a crook.

But one small-time Mobile offender who has escaped a police record thinks Graddick is all bluster. "He's a politician. What he says is political," said the man who pimps for Sally. "It may sound good, but it's not the way things are down here."

Baxley did, however, get 45 percent of the vote. His near-win showed another aspect of the changed climate in Alabama politics. Baxley made his name when he won convictions against the perpetrators of the 1963 Birmingham church bombings that killed four black girls. He was endorsed by the Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC), a black lobby whose power this year epitomized the end of race-baiting.

Eight years ago, Wallace hung the ADC endorsement around Brewer's neck like a noose. He came from a large primary deficit to defeat Brewer in the run-off after branding him the candidate of the "black bloc vote." No one uttered that phrase this year—at least not loud enough for anyone to hear.

In the race for Allen's seat, the ADC divided its support between Allen's widow and State Sen. Donald Stewart, a 38-year-old attorney backed by organized labor. Allen's sudden death last May stunned the state. He was the most popular office-holder in Alabama, and his fervent opposition to the Panama Canal treaties last spring typified his career of championing doomed right-wing causes in the finest Southern tradition.

But voters' rejection of his widow—who campaigned as Mrs. Jim Allen on the slogan, "Keep It Going"—showed the state's willingness to try something new. Stewart is bright, well-informed and moderate. He argued so persuasively against a request for a \$180 million rate increase by Alabama Power Company in 1976 that the Public Service Commission turned it down. He supported the Equal Rights Amendment in the Alabama legislature.

Stewart has the disquieting ability to appeal to just about everyone. He made no secret of his labor backing, while at the same time opposing repeal of the state's right-to-work law. He began running for Sparkman's seat before the senator announced his retirement late in 1977.

Selling Alabama.

The other Senate contest—between conservative congressman Walter Flowers, and former Alabama Supreme Court Chief Justice Howell Heflin—was the fiercest of the summer, and the most comical. Each hurled the epithet "liberal" at the other. Heflin resorted to the old political trick of identifying Flowers with "the Washington crowd," which has evil connotations to the average Alabamian.

Heflin, who actually is more liberal than Flowers, won going away, with 65 percent of the vote. He had the endorsements of labor and blacks and appealed to influential whites who admired his reform-minded administration as chief justice. Heflin's Republican opponent, Jim Martin, dropped out of the race and switched over to run against Donald Stewart, whom he considers a somewhat easier opponent. George Nickels, Stewart's initial opponent, dropped out of the senate race altogether.

It would be misleading to say the James-Stewart-Heflin triumvirate will steer Alabama from right to left. State politics still are non-ideological and, if this campaign left race-baiting behind, it did not introduce any profound discussion of issues in its place. State Sen. Sid McDonald ran an issues-oriented primary campaign for governor; he finished fourth—behind Brewer and ahead of his time.

Instead, the three share a hard-minded recognition that Alabama is in competition for industry and tourism not only with the North, but with its sister southern states. Wallace, who loved to campaign but never bothered to administrate once he was elected, allowed the state to lag behind its neighbors economically.

The new politicians want to "sell" Alabama, to run it "like a business." James is the chief proponent of this view. With no political experience, his major text will come in his dealings with the legislature, many of whose members will be newcomers like himself.

If he can tame it—and more importantly, the lobbyists who hover near it—he will be well on the way toward the "new beginning" his campaign promised. If not, don't bet your hat the state's unreconstructed demagogues won't have a second coming.

Thomas Noland is a journalist in Anniston, Ala.

WELFARE

Workfare scheme to replace welfare

By Saul Rigberg

CINCINNATI

ON AUG. 15 THE DEPARTMENT of Labor (DOL) chose 15 cities across the country to sponsor President Carter's pilot workfare program.

Aimed at welfare recipients, this program will be conducted on a narrow scale to test feasibility before the make-work scheme is introduced nationwide. The program could serve as a model for downgrading employment standards in the public and private sectors and creating a workforce permanently locked into low income jobs.

The only component of Carter's welfare reform package that survived congressional scrutiny requires that certain welfare recipients work or risk losing part or all of their benefits. A "bona fide" job offer cannot be dismissed, regardless of pay, working conditions or skill levels involved.

Take what you get.

The requirement that a job must be accepted without consideration of pay or the person's background would force people to take these jobs.

The targeted group is one to two million low-income parents. It is not clear how eligible welfare recipients would be induced to accept private sector job or a specially-developed, government-subsidized minimum wage position in the public sector. Carter originally proposed that welfare recipients who satisfied the eligibility criteria—the principal wage earner in a two-parent household with children, or a single parent if the children are older than six—would be required to participate or suffer a drastic reduction in their welfare benefits, up to \$2,300 a year for a family of four.

According to DOL's *Employment and Training Reporter*, "all persons in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children and the Work Incentive programs, and single parents with children older than six are expected to participate. Single parents with children older than six may volunteer for the program."

The program provides no assurance that the jobs created for the workfare program would not simply replace jobs of workers now employed or who otherwise would be hired by state and local governments. Like most Comprehensive Employment and Training Administration (CETA) projects, the "Program for Better Jobs and Income" would not significantly reduce unemployment, and would attack the living standards of all workers.

Playing havoc with unions.

An outraged Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the union most affected by alterations in the public sector environment, remarked in testimony before the House Welfare Reform Committee: "The placement of 1.4 million minimum wage workers in the public sector will undermine employment standards, fragment government services, create a dual structure of second-class workers and play havoc with public sector labor relations."

Fifteen CETA sponsors around the country, including the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pa., Mobile, Ala., Long Beach, Calif., Baton Rouge, La., Columbus, Ohio, and Lowell, Mass., and rural areas within North Carolina, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Texas, Missouri, Colorado and Washington have been selected to host demonstration workfare projects as small-scale test models.

The Program for Better Jobs and Income consists of two parts. An intensive, supervised search for a regular, existing position in the private sector will last five

If Carter's workfare program succeeds on a small scale then it will be applied nationally.

to eight weeks. During this initial period participants might receive a "modest stipend" of an amount not yet determined. The CETA sponsors have the responsibility of developing and exploring diverse ways of providing job search assistance: counseling, resume development, group participation support, and job search and training referrals.

This approach recognizes that many low income people are not easily employable in the primary labor market due to their education or work experience, but it fails to acknowledge that in a period of recession and high unemployment the more accessible secondary labor market is also saturated. CETA job developers will be hard-pressed to locate so many meaningful positions in the private or public sectors when the official unemployment rate is over 6 percent and the rate of inflation nears 10 percent.

Entering the revolving door.

A job search program in San Diego, similar to the CETA plan, was a dismal failure. A sample review by the General Accounting Office of 50 persons participating in the program showed that although they contacted 782 potential employers, only three people found work after six weeks of searching. Since circumstances have changed little, it would not be surprising if the current program has similar results.

If a job is not found during the search period, the participant will be referred to the second stage: government-subsidized minimum wage work or training programs. These positions will last only one year. After 52 weeks the individual will be forced to begin another five weeks of job hunting for unsubsidized employment in the private sector. Benefits are minimal and seniority nonexistent.

It is anticipated that almost all of these



Robert Schaeffer

"make-work" positions will be in the public sector and will compete with CETA's Public Service Employment (PSE) programs, which pays prevailing wage rate, and with regular employment in the public sector. The deleterious impact on wage rates and employment could be enormous.

The dimensions of the numbers of people involved signifies congressional acceptance of the forced work requirements introduced on the state level by former Gov. Ronald Reagan in California, and by state legislatures in New Jersey, New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Mississippi, and Massachusetts. While many of these programs were localized and eventually phased out, the workfare concept was never completely dismissed.

The Program for Better Jobs and Income workfare program assumes that

welfare recipients are not inclined to work. The planners expect that the 2.5 million workfare participants will find their experience in the program so demeaning that they will begin to seek work in the private sector.

Because the benefits are so low—less than Department of Labor's adequate living standard—and because the jobs are not continuous, the punitive nature of the program cannot be hidden. AFSCME researcher Marilyn DePoy called the workfare program a "harbinger for the rest of the country," and warns that the workfare demonstration projects undermine unions and workers in the public sector.

Saul Rigberg is on the staff of AFSCME's Ohio Council 8 Cincinnati Regional Office. He works as a liaison with the City of Cincinnati's CETA programs.

MEDICINE

Midwife arraigned on murder charge

By Natasha Woolley

SANTA CRUZ

ON JUNE 3, 1978, CHRISTINE and Robert Gannage gave birth to a daughter at their home in Los Osos. Attending the birth as midwife and friend was Marianne Doshi of San Luis Obispo. The baby, Amy, was born with a "true knot" in her cord that tightened as she passed down the birth canal and cut off her oxygen supply until she was fully born. Marianne administered cardiopulmonary resuscitation until the ambulance arrived. Amy was taken to the local hospital and then flown to Mt. Zion in San Francisco. Five days after her birth she died. Her parents, devout Christians, believed this to be an act of God, as everything was done to save the life of their little girl. They are grateful for everything that Marianne and the doctors have done for them and now wish to be alone with their grief. However, the case does not stop here, for the district attorney's office has arrested Marianne Doshi.

Because she is a lay-midwife, Marianne can be charged for the misdemeanor of practicing medicine without a license. By

law, if anyone is injured by an unlicensed practitioner the charge becomes a felony; if someone dies, it becomes murder. Although the parents have no desire to take legal action and have publicly stated that they consider such action a great injustice to Marianne, the state has arraigned Marianne Doshi on the charge of murder with malicious intent.

A few days after her arrest the press quoted the San Luis Obispo district attorney Chris Money as saying of midwives, "Well, we finally got the goods on them." The state's case hinges on the issue of certification, as a doctor or nurse-midwife—the only legal practitioners in this field—would most likely not be charged with murder unless the parents themselves initiated a malpractice suit.

Quality of care is not necessarily the matter at hand, for it is not certain whether the prosecution will be able to prove that Amy would not have died had she been born in the hospital. A true knot in the cord is a fairly rare occurrence and might not have been diagnosed in the hospital unless Christine had been hooked up to a fetal heart monitor, a machine used only in cases of suspected complication. According to reports, it appears that

Christine had a normal, trouble-free labor.

Mr. and Mrs. Gannage have no desire to press charges against the midwife. They, and others like them, have gone to midwives because they no longer want to turn the responsibility for the birth of their children over to doctors and hospitals, but rather prefer to take it on themselves and have a midwife in attendance who can help them make decisions regarding their safety and that of the baby. Those who have a home birth generally do so because they believe that even given the risks, this is the best possible care they can provide for their baby. In the event that something goes wrong, they then know that they are dealing with the results of their own decision rather than someone else's.

It is estimated that Marianne Doshi's case could go on as long as two to four years, with legal fees totaling as high as \$50,000. There is a defense committee set up for her in San Luis Obispo with chapters in Santa Cruz, the Bay Area and elsewhere.

Marianne Doshi Defense Fund, P.O. Box 522, San Luis Obispo, CA 93401.

Natasha Woolley is a member of the Santa Cruz Health Collective.

INNER CITY

Solar project in New York City is a ray of sunshine

By Karen Polk

NEW YORK

CUANDO, SOLAR ENERGY Wall" is spelled out in bold red and yellow letters on the south face of a large brick building on the corner of Houston Street and Second Avenue. On the north face of the same building are the hand-painted names of local street gangs — the Blades, Invaders and the Imposters.

The apparent contradiction of these two advertisements dramatizes the efforts of the building's few occupants to keep Number 9 Second Avenue from going the way of so many other buildings in Loissaida, New York's desolate Lower East Side where abandonment and arson are tangible evidence of urban blight.

The recently completed passive solar energy wall at No. 9 is the first of its kind in the New York urban area and is part of a project by a small group of young blacks and Puerto Ricans to renovate and maintain what was once a thriving community center servicing low income families in the neighborhood.

CUANDO, Cultural Understanding and Neighborhood Development Organization, is presently comprised of a five-man core group that sponsors educational and recreational programs for youths in the community. They have occupied No. 9 without heat or telephone for over three years. Their right to remain there and continue to provide the programs that they have may depend on the success of the solar wall project.

CUANDO's occupation of the building is controversial and surrounded by conflicting reports of community in-fighting and threats of violence. The details of their takeover remain unclear. Until three years ago, the building was leased by the Church of All Nations that used the facilities for a day care center, recreation hall and residence for some of its members. The small core group from CUANDO also maintained their headquarters there.

Under an urban renewal plan that covered a vast section of Loissaida, the building was slated to be demolished, eventually to be replaced by more modern recreational facilities. In early 1975 the church temporarily relinquished the building, intending to reoccupy the newer facilities when they were completed. In the interim the Church of All Nations negotiated with the Department of Housing and Relocation of the City of New York to turn the token \$1.00 per year lease over to Action for Progress, another local community services organization.

CUANDO, forced to search for new quarters, was unwilling to surrender the building to a group that, in the opinion of Richard Cleghourne, program coordinator for CUANDO, was "not interested in saving the community." He described Action for Progress as a highly bureaucratic organization without roots in the community.

Julio Jerta, executive director of Action for Progress, strongly defended his organization's right to ownership of the building, stating that the facilities were sorely needed for the expansion of their family planning program and their educational and recreational programs. Referring to the CUANDO members as "militant communists," he said that Action for Progress, as an "organization with a reputation," would put the facilities to better use.

Action for Progress has the support of the Cooper Square Housing Organization that is managing the urban renewal pro-

The solar wall project was an ambitious effort in New York's Loissaida.

gram for the area and it has secured funds to finance their programs from the Human Resources Administration and the National Endowment for the Arts.

In the summer of 1975, attempts were made to physically evict the CUANDO members from the building. But with the backing of the community, CUANDO resisted. No action has been taken against them since that time. "Violence could have broken out easily, tempers ran so high, but we're still here," said Cleghourne of the incident. "We would do everything we had to do to stay here. We don't want to have to start all over again."

CUANDO justifies its claim to the building with its devotion to the youth of the community and the success of their past programs. The name CUANDO appropriately outlines their goals. "We want to teach the kids that they have a past and a future. Without education they have no solid foundations to their cultural background; they have no solid foundations to grow from. We also teach political expressions based on work, education and skills training. We don't have any definite political standards but this system doesn't work for everybody. It



doesn't always work for the people so we want to show people how to take care of themselves," explained Cleghourne.

Their emphasis on self-reliance, in addition to their lack of capital, prompted the CUANDO members to seek alternatives for the renovation of No. 9. With the assistance of the Energy Task Force, a non-profit corporation of energy architects, educators and engineers, CUANDO secured \$4,000 of a National Center for Appropriate Technology (NCAT) grant to proceed with the construction of the passive solar wall.

Designed by Ted Finch of Energy Task Force and Fred Cabrera of CUANDO, the wall was meant to heat a gymnasium on the third floor of No. 9. Its construction was carried out over the summer by high school-aged youths participating in a seminar on energy alternatives.

Finch, who taught the seminar, said, "We made the necessary connection between housing and energy. We felt that by making energy production labor intensive we could cut utility costs considerably. ETF works only with low income, self-help groups on energy projects. They're the ones that can benefit the most from the advantages of alternative energy."



Student workers help construct a solar wall on the CUANDO building at No. 9 Second Ave. in New York City. CUANDO is a community group that took over the building after it was abandoned.

thing runs itself," explained Finch.

Heading CUANDO's emphasis on self-reliance, Finch and Cabrera designed the wall to the physical requirements of the building and the financial and technical capabilities of the CUANDO members who would be responsible for its upkeep. "We didn't want anything that we couldn't handle ourselves. We can't have something that would be too much trouble or too expensive," said Cleghourne.

The wall was completed in late September and its operation will be monitored by ETF to determine its true effectiveness.

Community feuds and partisanship notwithstanding, CUANDO remains a small, isolated and idealistic group struggling for survival. Its members hesitate to predict their own future and all their plans must hinge on the outcome of negotiations with the city for legal ownership of the lease to No. 9. Their immediate priority is no more courageous than to keep the building in working order.

Ironically, the solar wall symbolizes both the group's survival interests and their investment in the future of alternative energy. They are hoping that projects like the wall will affirm their legitimacy as a service-oriented group with positive community influence and prolong their existence as an organization. Already the success of the solar wall project has earned CUANDO the approval of the city's Department of Employment for the management of their summer seminar.

CUANDO is also out to prove the point that solar energy is clearly a feasible alternative for poor people to the expensive and uncontrollable costs of commercial energy. They hope that the CUANDO wall will serve as a model, that solar energy can be most effectively introduced into the urban economy on an individual and decentralized scale.

Karen Polk is a free-lance writer in New York.

IN THE WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA

Jailings transform the black movement

By Our Correspondent
in Southern Africa

CHRISTOPHER VILAKAZI IS 21 years old. Two years ago he was a secondary school student in Soweto; now he is a refugee. Just over a year ago he decided to slip illegally over the border to Swaziland because he believed he was no longer safe from the fate of many of his friends—several years in a South African prison.

Like most of his friends, Vilakazi did not belong to an organized political party during the 1976 Soweto riots, though he was a regular participant in activities organized by SASO, the student organization linked with Steve Biko's Black Consciousness movement. Now, however, most of the people Vilakazi had considered to be his leaders—the heads of SASO and Black Consciousness groups—are in jail and likely to remain there for some time.

For the last year, Vilakazi has attended a UN-funded school for South African refugees. It has not been an easy time, he says; cut off from his family and his friends he has done nothing but read the daily stories in the South African press about more jailings and bannings of people in what Vilakazi considers his movement.

Vilakazi says he will not wait any longer. The African National Congress (ANC) has accepted him for training, and next month he will slip quietly away from the school to an ANC military camp in Tanzania, so he can get on with the struggle.

Since the crackdown on the Black Consciousness movement that followed Steve Biko's death last October, the initiative in the liberation struggle—taken over by the students and young intellectuals who flocked to Biko's movement when it was formed in the late '60s—has shifted back to the two established liberation parties, the ANC and the Pan-Africanist party (PAC).

Because both ANC and PAC have been banned as subversive organizations since 1960, they have had no choice but to build up underground networks in the intervening years. When last October's crackdown broke up most of the legal anti-apartheid groups, the two older parties, used to functioning illegally, emerged relatively unscathed.

No one outside the parties knows how strong they are, or how much support they can rely on inside South Africa. As one prominent black resident of Port Elizabeth said recently, "If you believe only criminals are responsible for all the recent trouble, you are kidding yourself. Make no mistake, there are still political activists around. Only they've gone so far underground that nobody knows who they are—not even us blacks."

Widespread support for ANC.

One of the few indications of where black South Africans' preferences lie comes from a survey conducted recently by the German-based Arnold-Bertraesser Institute, which found that more than one in five urban blacks regard ANC as their party—although it has been banned for 17 years. Since well over a third of South Africa's 18 million blacks live in urban areas, ANC can claim an impressive degree of support.

Certainly ANC has some kind of internal structure, with well-established pipelines from Soweto and other townships to the country's borders. PAC seems to have a less formal underground network, relying instead on informal contacts with the Black Consciousness movement.

The strength of the two banned parties



Potlako Leballo, president of the Pan-Africanist party at the Organization of African Unity Meeting, Dar es Salaam, April 1975.

Recent survey shows one in five blacks support underground group.

may be exaggerated by the white regime, which almost invariably includes membership in ANC or PAC in the list of charges against black political activists. Since membership in an underground party can hardly be disproved, the charge has become a convenient way to remove trouble-makers.

But the current trial of 18 activists charged with membership in PAC appears to be based on reality. (There were originally 21 defendants, but three died in prison before charges were brought.) If only some of the state's witnesses' claims are true, PAC may well have lost a large proportion of its leadership inside South Africa when the group now on trial was rounded up.

If so, it is not the only problem PAC is facing. Robert Sobukwe, who led the PAC split from ANC in 1959, died of cancer this February, after spending 18 years in prison or under banning orders.

Sobukwe's death touched off faction fights that had been rumbling for years in the ranks of PAC exiles, centering on the choice of a successor.

Potlako Leballo, who has come out on top of the party's leadership outside South Africa, represents PAC's conservative wing. Sobukwe originally broke off from ANC on black nationalist grounds, arguing that ANC's willingness to work with white Communists and Indian leaders could only undermine the ordinary African's independence. Because they were more concerned about oppression based on race than they were about economic exploitation, which ANC stressed, Sobukwe and his deputy Leballo believed that any multi-racialism in the liberation movement would prolong the prejudices that were already South Africa's curse. Sobukwe and Leballo called for black self-reliance, in place of ANC's emphasis on class struggle.

In the last decade, however, some PAC factions have incorporated Marxist concepts into the party's black nationalism. Though Sobukwe's leadership was never challenged, Leballo's claim to control PAC has been threatened by members who would like to see their party move closer to ANC's line.

Leballo's reputation nosedives.

In addition to ideological disagreements, Leballo himself was seriously discredited in 1964 when he escaped a police raid on PAC's Lesotho headquarters but left behind him lists containing the names of some 10,000 PAC members. More than 4,000 people were jailed in the police roundup that followed the discovery of the lists; and neither Leballo's reputation nor the PAC underground organization have ever fully recovered.

Two years ago, a group of ANC dissidents broke off from the main party to set up an organization called ANC (Black Nationalists). In fact, their ideology is almost identical to that of PAC, but they refuse to join PAC while it is under Leballo's control.

Leballo's reputation again took a nosedive this March during the power struggle

Continued on page 18.

Prime Minister another hardliner

When the South African cabinet met in late April to consider Defense Minister Pieter W. Botha's proposals for a military raid into Angola, Foreign Minister Roelof (Pik) Botha (no relation), warned that the action would likely provoke an outcry from the Western powers.

But the defense minister's argument that South Africa could not afford to let guerillas of SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) escalate their activities prevailed. And on May 4 South African troops killed more than 1,000 Namibians at the Cassinga refugee camp 150 miles inside the Angolan border.

The raid is just one example of the stern militarist stand, which has given the new South African prime minister his reputation as a hard-liner. And the lack of strong negative reaction from

South Africa's Western allies strengthened the hand of those within the ruling National Party who think Pik Botha tends towards an unnecessarily conciliatory approach to external critics. That suspicion probably erased the outside chance that the foreign minister had of capturing the party leadership, which automatically carries with it the post of prime minister, from more senior politicians.

As the most senior cabinet member, P.W. Botha won the party caucus election on Sept. 28. And he had the help of Pik Botha in doing it. After a first ballot in which P.W. attracted 78 votes, Pik 22 and Connie Mulder 72, most of the foreign minister's supporters swung behind P.W., who won by 98 to 74 over Mulder.

P.W. Botha is expected to maintain

the policies of his predecessor, the new State President John Vorster, including his refusal to support the UN-plan on Namibia. But he is known to favor a more concerted effort to win the alliance of the country's 2.5 million Coloureds (persons of mixed race), most of whom live in the Cape province. Botha is the first South African prime minister from the Cape since 1948.

Within the next two years Botha is expected to move ahead with a new constitutional proposal which provides for Coloured and Indian representation in a cabinet council selected from three separate parliaments under a powerful executive presidency. The proposal has already been rejected by Coloured and Indian leaders as meaningless.

—Africa News

ITALY

Socialists compel Communist leader to define Leninism

By Diana Johnstone

R O M E

ARE YOU LENINIST OR AREN'T you? That was the deceptively simple question that *La Repubblica* editor Eugenio Scalfari tried to press on a wary Enrico Berlinguer in the Aug. 2 interview meant to reply to Socialist assertions that the Leninist origins of the Italian Communist party (PCI) made it unfit to take part in democratic government.

The PCI secretary general made it clear that he did not care much for the question. He tried to suggest that historical relativity ruled out a simple answer. The PCI was indeed Leninist at birth, because of the historical conditions. Since then, it has evolved under a variety of influences—especially the influence of reality.

Berlinguer recalled that the PCI was born "in the wake of the Soviet proletarian revolution and on Lenin's impulse" to make up for the "confusion of ideas and political vacuum" the Italian working class was suffering from "under Socialist party leadership" right after World War I. "We were born in the way that was historically possible."

The PCI was influenced in its policy-making and conduct by Marx, Engels and Lenin, but also by Machiavelli, Vico, Cavour, Antonio Labriola, and "above all by the attentive study of the forces that move and confront each other in Italian society and in the world," Berlinguer said.

In view of these multiple influences, the secretary general announced that the Party Congress early next year would be asked to revise Article 5 of the Party statutes mentioning the duty of militants to study and apply the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The existing text could "give the impression of the existence of...an immutable and closed body of doctrine" and "should be replaced by different phrasing recalling in a more accurate and up-to-date manner our whole heritage of ideas," Berlinguer said.

"You don't renounce Lenin."

Dissatisfied, Eugenio Scalfari, the *Repubblica* editor conducting the interview, asked: "But finally, are you Leninists or aren't you? This is not personal curiosity, it's a problem that has to be faced today."

"Are you sure?" Berlinguer retorted. "Are you really so sure that today, in 1978, after all that has happened and is happening in Italy, in Europe, in the world, the problem we Italian Communists must face up to is the question: are we Leninists or not?"

Berlinguer asked if "all those people who ask such a question are really acquainted with Lenin and Leninism, do they really know what they're talking about? Allow me to doubt it. Anyway," he went on, "it seems to me that what is still alive and valid is the lesson Lenin gave us by elaborating a real revolutionary theory, that is, by going beyond the 'orthodoxy' of reformist evolutionism."

"There is value in the lesson of the Lenin who broke the worldwide domination of the capitalist, imperialist and colonialist system, of the Lenin who fought for peace and against war in every corner of Europe, of the Lenin who discovered the decisive nature of the alliance between the industrial proletariat and the poor peasants, and who, even a few months before October 1917, in that inflamed situation, did not rule out the possibility of peaceful development of the socialist revolution and the preservation of a plur-

ality of parties' (Togliatti's words in 1956); of the Lenin who conceived of socialism as the society that should achieve the fullness of democracy."

Overlooking the limitations and ambiguities of Berlinguer's tribute to Lenin, Scalfari returned to the charge: "So you don't renounce Lenin..."

"For pity's sake!" exclaimed the PCI secretary general. "We Italian communists have...our own history.... Lenin has his place, and a fairly prominent one, but anything but exclusive and anything but dogmatic. Anyone who asks us to utter condemnations or to recant and forswear our own history is asking something which is both impossible and silly. You don't renounce history, your own or other people's. You try to understand it, to overcome it, to grow, to renew yourself within a continuity."

In reality, said Berlinguer, "our examiners want to hear us say ourselves that our party, as Communist, is not legitimate in Italy. In other countries the Communist party has been outlawed; they would like us to outlaw ourselves. They would like to hear us say: we were mistaken in being born, long live social democracy, the sole form of political and social progress."

A third solution.

Berlinguer then turned to the historic strengths and weaknesses of Italian socialism, which he called "a powerful movement that 100 years ago first awakened the consciousness of the proletarians and set in motion a great process of human and political liberation. That is its greatness."

But, he said, socialism had never "built a culture of its own fully autonomous from bourgeois currents, nor any class strategy of its own." But he saw as a "positive strength" of Italian socialism, setting it off from other Western European socialist parties, that it had "never been identified with European Social Democracy of the German or English variety."

But this could change. Alluding to the new line taken by the Italian Socialist party (PSI) under the leadership of Bettino Craxi, Berlinguer said that "in the last few months, it may be said that the PSI is tending to become the point of reference of a neo-liberal, neo-social democratic and even extremist area." By "extremist," Berlinguer was perhaps referring to the convergence of certain far left criticisms of the PCI with those voiced by PSI leaders, especially during the Moro kidnapping, when Craxi advocated bargaining with the Red Brigades, implying that the PCI was responsible for needlessly sacrificing Aldo Moro on the altar of the state.

But Berlinguer concluded that "the Socialist party is at any rate a great working class party, and if it gets stronger, the Italian left will be strengthened. But if it breaks the unity of the left, it is the left that will be weakened."

Berlinguer said the PCI's eventual aim was "to achieve in Western Europe an

CRONACHE DAL PALAZZO

di TULLIO PERICOLI ed EMANUELE PIRELLA

There's no longer any need to be Leninist to be Communist.

Is that good enough? Do we seem mature?

NON C'E' PIU' BISOGNO DI ESSERE LENINISTI PER ESSERE COMUNISTI.

VI BASTA? VI SEMBRIAMO MATURI?

There's no longer even any need to be Marxist to be Communist.

Is that okay? Do you accept us?

NON C'E' NEMMENO PIU' BISOGNO DI ESSERE MARXISTI PER ESSERE COMUNISTI.

VA BENE COSI'? CI ACCETTATE?

It's no longer even necessary to be Communist to be Communist!

And now do you trust us? Are you reassured?

NON E' NEMMENO PIU' NECESSARIO ESSERE COMUNISTI PER ESSERE COMUNISTI!

E ADESSO VI FIDATE? SIETE PIU' TRANQUILLI?

Enrico Berlinguer's interview in *REPUBBLICA* as seen by *L'ESPRESSO*.

economic, social and governmental setting that is no longer capitalist, but that does not fit any model and does not repeat any socialist experiment made up to now." While rejecting the model of Communist countries, the PCI also wants something that "does not boil down to digging up social-democratic type experiences, which are limited to managing capitalism. We are for a third solution..."

He stressed that democracy was an indispensable part of any "third" solution. It is necessary to surpass capitalism "precisely in order to save democracy," he said.

Pointing to a development of PCI thinking that "goes beyond an aspect of Leninism," Berlinguer said that "in our view, democracy is an inalienable conquest of the working class that must not be given up." Lenin, he recalled, saw the fight for democracy as strictly part of the bourgeois revolution, even if he called on the proletariat to join that fight (as in Russia, before the bourgeois revolution had taken place). "For us, though," said Berlinguer, "democracy (including the freedoms called 'formal' that were initially conquered by the bourgeoisie) is a value that historical experience shows to be universal and lasting, and that the working class and communist parties should thus also take up and assert in the construction of socialist society."

Berlinguerian party.

From a journalistic point of view, the "news" of the interview was the an-

nouncement of the forthcoming revision of PCI statutes concerning "Marxism-Leninism," which on the face of it appears particularly aimed at countering the argument that communism and Christianity are ideologically mutually exclusive and irreconcilably hostile.

Politically, most commentators and non-communist political leaders thought the most significant passage was the one pointing to the PCI's difference with Lenin over the value of "bourgeois" democracy. Not that this is new, but that Berlinguer made the difference more "official" than ever.

Some people consider Berlinguer's cautious language dishonest, others consider it responsible. The PCI secretary general can no more unguardedly express his personal opinions on sensitive questions than can the Pope.

Such Jesuitical caution can find sympathy and understanding in a Catholic culture. The newspaper *Corriere della Sera* summed up Berlinguer's problem, as just about everyone sees it: "The PCI is no longer Leninist but can't say so."

A particularly interesting exegesis of the interview appeared in *La Repubblica* a few days later, written by Gianni Baget Bozzo: "For Berlinguer, the PCI is substantially identified with its history. Leninism represents only its starting point, the breaking of the mold needed to attain autonomy, but not the pattern for its live existence." Baget Bozzo stressed that "it is as a culture and not as a politi-

Continued on page 10.

UPDATE

Nicaraguan left rejects talks

Contrary to recent reports, the Broad Front of Opposition (*Frente Amplio*) is not involved in peace talks with the Somoza regime.

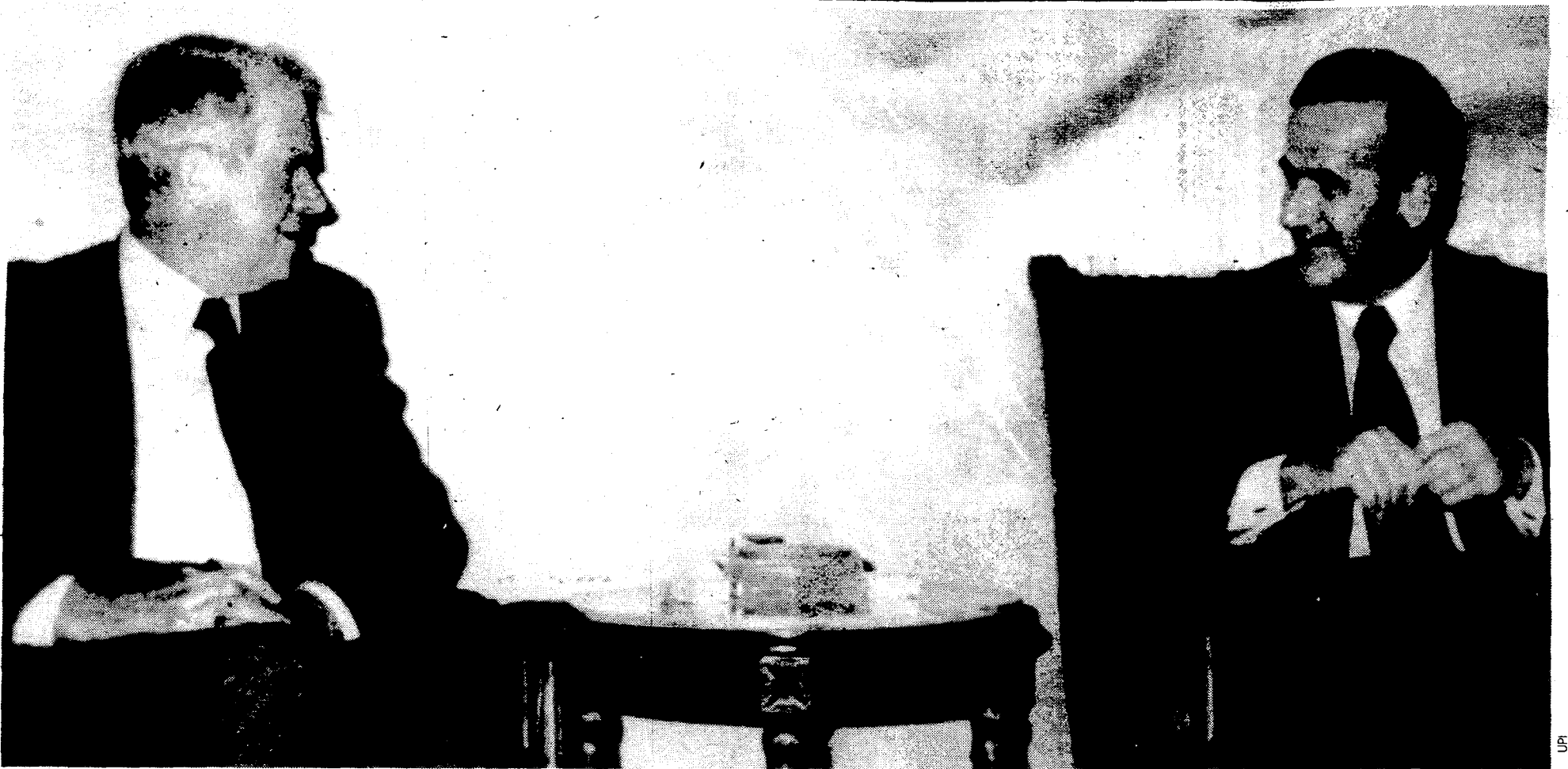
The Broad Front, which represents the majority of the Nicaraguan people, will not participate until Gen. Anastasio Somoza complies with his agreement for general amnesty. At present, the dictator has released only seven of the 500 political prisoners. Many more have been imprisoned, including Broad Front

leader Arturo Peafar y Peafar.

As a further condition of negotiations, the state of siege was to have been lifted. It has not been lifted. On the contrary, repression has increased on all levels.

The president of the Democratic Union of Liberation (UDEL) in Masaya was shot to death. The National Guard offered no explanation for his murder.

—Blaise Bonpane



By Douglas Bradley

Cyrus Vance meets with Hafez Assad in Damascus, Sept. 24.

MIDEAST

Syria's president walks a tightrope between two wars

Syria's economy sinks under the costs of its Lebanese occupation. Angry forces on both sides seek its allegiance.

WHILE THE INK ON THE Camp David documents had barely dried and the thundering applause for President Carter was still ringing through the congressional halls, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance quickly boarded a plane and headed for the Mideast. Vance's inclusion of Syria on his schedule prompted many observers to wonder why.

Wasn't Syria a member of the "steadfastness front"? Hadn't Syria's President Hafez al-Assad soundly denounced the newly-signed agreements? And wasn't Assad hosting a rejectionist summit at the same time that Vance was wooing Hussein and the Saudis?

To say the least, Syria and Assad are enigmas to the American public. However, there is probably no other country that is more critical to Mideast events than Syria.

Syria has had very close ties with the Russians; it is a confrontation state—one that shares a border with Israel; its Golan Heights, now occupied by the Israelis, is one of the most strategic areas in the entire Mideast; it played a leading role in quelling the disturbance in Lebanon in late 1976 and now has almost 30,000 troops stationed in that tiny republic; and it has been making strides toward the West over the previous three years.

Today's troubles.

To Syrian President Assad it might seem like only yesterday that he was receiving plaudits from world leaders about his "courageous statesmanship" in stopping the civil war in Lebanon. That too was a period when his country-wide program for economic modernization and political liberalization was going very well. And to top things off, his fellow Arab leaders were admiring his leadership role in subduing the extremist Palestinians whom so many of them feared.

But that was yesterday. Assad's involvement in Lebanon has actually placed Syria in an untenable position. Consider this: Assad has stationed almost 30,000 troops in Lebanon (at a cost to Syria of more than \$1 million a day). Presently, Syrian soldiers in Lebanon are being rotated out of the country at three- to four-months intervals so they do not become accustomed to the "good life" (radios, cassettes, American films, unveiled women, etc.) and demand more of the same once they return to their native Syria.

In addition, the radical Palestinians and their supporters in Lybia and Iraq remain highly critical of Syria, and with Assad now in control of more than 500,000 Palestinians in both Lebanon and Syria, they are a significant, agitated force, one that needs to be appeased, not incensed.

Furthermore, the Syrians have been engaged in frequent bloody clashes with Lebanese right-wing Christians who

want the Syrians out of their country.

As long as the Israelis supply the right-wing forces and the Syrians "police" Lebanon and "protect" the PLO, the two countries will remain at loggerheads.

Domestically, Assad is not doing much better. The cost of the Lebanese "occupation," the lack of monetary support from the Saudis, government corruption, high inflation and recent economic stagnation have brought his regime to the brink of collapse. Presently, a rival pro-Iraq wing of the Ba'athist party (the Arab Socialist Resurrection Party of 1953) has joined forces with Orthodox Sunni Moslems and angry dissidents in demanding Assad's removal. While Assad has countered by reshuffling his cabinet and throwing a government official or two to the

angry mobs, he has yet to put Syria's economy back on track. Peace would be most welcome, but Assad cannot afford to lose face in a deal with the Israelis, so for the time being inflation and poverty will remain with the average Syrian.

Assad has severed relations with Sadat for coming to terms with the Israelis. Assad nevertheless envies Sadat's leadership role and envisions himself playing such a part.

Iraq stays poised and angry. And the Saudi Arabians, who in 1975 pumped more than \$600 million into the Syrian treasury, have got to be coddled.

As the Lebanese occupation continues, the Saudis are growing cooler toward Assad and are now using their influence to prevent Jordan's Hussein from moving any closer to the Syrians. To make mat-

ters even worse, the Saudis have just begun to move commercially closer to the Iraqis, Assad's arch enemies.

So for the time being, Hafez al-Assad can only walk the tightrope between limited and full-scale war in the Mideast. And yet Assad cannot stand still, which he has tried to do on occasion, because events will overtake him.

American stakes.

Although he pays lip service to the "steadfastness front" Assad could conceivably come to terms with the Israelis should the return of the Golan heights be guaranteed. Like most of his Arab counterparts, he is no champion of Palestinian rights. Thus, a return of the Golan Heights and a "sell-out" of the Palestinians could quell internal strife, shift the onus of the Palestinian problem onto Hussein, and help bring about a peace that would return the Syrian economy to food and resource development.

But, the stakes are high for the U.S. as well. The Syrians had trusted the Carter administration to assist them in their discussions with the Israelis on Syria's regaining of the Golan Heights in return for policing the more than 500,000 Palestinians in Syria and Lebanon. The U.S. has not come through on its side of the bargain. Should the Assad regime topple, the next government in Syria will undoubtedly be more pro-Russian.

It remains to be seen exactly what Assad's next move will be. He is in touch with the Americans, keeping a back door open to Egypt, posing for pictures with Qaddafi and Arafat, and fighting Christians in Lebanon. As one PLO spokesman observed: "The Syrians are boxed in, all right, but by circumstances, not by principles."

Douglas Bradley recently returned from Syria.

Leninism reconsidered

Continued from page 9.

cal party that the PCI defines itself to start with." The Berlinguerian party as the place "where the proletariat finds its cultural autonomy and proposes it to the country as a national culture" differed from a purely "electoralist" party or one completely centered on government, he said.

"The Communist party has succeeded in increasing and maintaining an area of loyalty when all loyalties are declining," Baget Bozzo wrote. "The critical and individualistic type of culture, which prevails today in the West, makes consensus momentary and unstable and wears out the political dimension, leaving the field wide open to pure power. The PCI today, more than any other social unit, defends in Italy the dimension of the institutionalized party, which is an essential dimension for organizing consensus and thus for

the democratic nature of the State."

The view of the PCI as a principal mainstay of Italian constitutional democracy has been growing into a virtual consensus in Italy in recent years. Leftist criticism has been based on the conviction that a Communist party should play a different role.

Christian Democratic leaders, Republicans, old Socialists like Francesco De Martino read Berlinguer's interview with their usual understanding of his need to speak cautiously for a membership of two million and welcomed his statements as showing "a break with dogmatic conceptions of Marxism," as Christian Democratic party secretary general Benigno Zaccagnini put it.

Only the new young leaders of the Socialist party claimed to be scandalized by the Berlinguer interview, calling it "Leninist." Although French Communist

party leader Georges Marchais has never acknowledged, as Berlinguer did, that the Socialist party is a "working class party," much less called it a "great" one, PSI spokesman Fabrizio Cicchitto said the interview showed that Berlinguer had chosen "the Marchais model." The PSI announced that it was the victim of ideological aggression and prepared to escalate the polemic.

In fact, the new Socialist leaders have chosen not to interpret PCI utterances as they have been habitually interpreted by the Italian political class for years, but to break with that sort of dialogue, attentive to subtle hints, and launch a modern, public-relations style polemic ready to deliberately ignore the adversary's meaning in order to make a play for the galleries. This is a style of political discourse that is common in other countries, notably West Germany, but that has been relatively rare in Italy in recent years. Whether or not it succeeds will tell a great deal about the capacity of the Italian political culture to retain its special qualities.

(To be continued)

SILKWOOD PROBE PICKS UP WHERE SHE LEFT OFF

Investigation uncovers secret intelligence network that sought to discredit and maybe even kill Karen Silkwood.

By Jeff Stein

In the murky world of secret agents and conspiracies, as Norman Mailer once pointed out, the truth is hard to pinpoint; there are only facts and counterfacts.

ON JULY 31, 1974, KAREN SILKWOOD was contaminated with plutonium at the Kerr-McGee nuclear power facility in Oklahoma. On Nov. 5, she again discovered plutonium particles on her skin. On Nov. 6, more plutonium spores were discovered on her body. That same night, the young nuclear technician and union activist reached into her refrigerator for a baloney sandwich. The sandwich, unknown to her, was pregnant with plutonium particles. On Nov. 13, she was dead, victim of a mysterious car crash.

These are the simple facts of Karen Silkwood's life during its last two weeks. The government says it is an open and shut case. She lived, she died. It was an accident.

Since Karen Silkwood died, however, a legion of people have come to reject the government's version. They can't prove it, but they say Karen Silkwood was murdered. They also say that the government has conspired to cover up the facts in the case.

These are a few reasons why:

•Karen Silkwood knew that 45 pounds of plutonium was unaccounted for at the Kerr-McGee plant, and that contamination of workers at the plant was common. She had told this to officials of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW), and was en route to a meeting with David Burnham of the *New York Times* the night she died. Records documenting her charges, investigators say, disappeared from the accident site.

•Tests by independent investigators strongly suggest that Silkwood's Honda sedan was forced off the highway by an-

other vehicle that bumped her from the rear, driving her into a cement piling.

•During her union activity at the plant, investigators believe, the Oklahoma City Police intelligence unit, along with Kerr-McGee security agents, supplied with equipment from a CIA-connected Ft. Lauderdale company, bugged Silkwood's apartment, tapped her telephone, and monitored her personal and political life.

•A now-well-known FBI informant under cover as a Nashville journalist, Jacques Srouji, arrived in Oklahoma City following Silkwood's death and began to gather defamatory information about her "for a book." The book's publisher, Ms. Srouji will blurt out in a hearing two years later, is an asset of the Central Intelligence Agency. Srouji peddles the information to congressional investigators. Unusual circumstances lead to a short-circuiting of investigations by congressional committees.

•After a closed meeting with Justice Department and FBI officials, Judge Frank Theis emerges to tell attorneys for Karen Silkwood's relatives, who have filed suit against Kerr-McGee and the govern-

ment, "It is sinister, but it is secret."

These are but the highlights developed in a case that has uncovered—slowly, excruciatingly—a mushy, decadent core hidden deep within the nuclear power industry.

* * *

Most of what has been learned about the Silkwood case has been unearthed by a relentless team of young attorneys and investigators working for little more than the challenge of taking on Oklahoma's power elite.

The team is headed by veteran anti-war legal activist Danny Sheehan, 33, and his co-counsel, Jim Ikard, a former basketball star and iconoclastic Oklahoma City attorney. Sheehan was sitting in a Washington, D.C., courtroom on a spring day in 1976 when a representative of the National Organization for Women walked up and asked him to get involved with the case. He had never heard of Karen Silkwood.

More than two years later, recounting what he has learned about her apparent interconnection between the nuclear industry, the FBI and the CIA, Sheehan

exclaims, wide-eyed: "The whole thing is up for grabs in this case."

* * *

The story begins in the early 1970s, when the OCAW began to organize at the Kerr-McGee plant in Crescent, Okla., just one more asset in the energy empire of Sen. Robert Kerr, a big-business Democrat known accurately as "the uncrowned king of the Senate." The Kerr-McGee fortune, aided ably by the senator's blatant use of his public office in the service of his private interests, grew through two decades until its present-day value of some \$1.2 billion, centered in oil, uranium, potash, helium, coal and asphalt.

Karen Silkwood, a technician at the plant whose job entailed handling radioactive materials through a "glove box" with mechanical arms and rubber gloves, became active in the union, helping gather evidence of lax security procedures that increased the risks of theft of nuclear materials.

At the same time, Silkwood and other activists were discovering unexplainable losses of plutonium at Kerr-McGee, the company, it would later be discovered, had taken a severe financial beating in a nuclear fuel rod supply deal with another facility in Washington state—losses estimated at \$2 million that the company would find difficult to recoup.

Could it be, the union investigators began to wonder, that Kerr-McGee was diverting nuclear materials into an international black market, or foreign countries looking for bomb-grade plutonium, to make up its losses? Silkwood and her cohorts were becoming increasingly skeptical of official company explanations that the missing material was stuck somewhere in the plant's pipes.

Meanwhile, negotiations between the company and the OCAW were going badly. Over the winter of 1972-73, Kerr-McGee effectively "broke" the union by hiring scores of untrained, unskilled, non-union workers to replace plant activists.

Continued on next page.



Karen Silkwood.

John Rees' wife Sheila,
it would turn out, was
also a known police spy.

"Mrs. Srouji," Olsen said
cryptically, "has a very
special relationship
with the FBI."

Judge Frank
"It is sinister
it is secret"

Continued from previous page.

But the company lost a decertification election in August 1974 and a new round of confrontation began. Karen Silkwood was put in charge of OCAW health and safety issues, and began assembling voluminous data on violations. In September 1974 she went to Washington for a secret session with Atomic Energy Commission officials, and detailed her charges against the company. To her shock, the AEC told her it would not undertake a specific investigation until she supplied them with more proof. Meanwhile, in a practice that would eventually move the Senate to disband the so-called watchdog agency, the AEC continued to leak advance warnings to Kerr-McGee of impending "surprise" inspections.

Silkwood returned to Oklahoma determined to obtain company records supporting her allegations. Before leaving Washington, she advised OCAW officials that she would recontact them with a progress report in November.

Three times during November, Silkwood would find herself contaminated with the deadly, cancer-causing plutonium. Each time she was forced to undergo the terrifying decontamination process. On the last occasion, Kerr-McGee officials went to her apartment, ostensibly to examine it for radiation. Instead, according to documented charges by the defense filed in court, they "began a thorough search for any and all materials that might in any way reflect unfavorably upon Karen Silkwood's behavior." A small amount of marijuana was seized.

The next day, Nov. 8, AEC inspectors from Chicago arrived at Karen Silkwood's apartment and discovered at least one source of her contamination: a sprinkling of virulent plutonium particles on a baloney and cheese sandwich in her refrigerator.

What neither Kerr-McGee nor AEC investigators would find, however, were the 40 or so pages of company records Silkwood had gathered to support her allegations of missing plutonium and health hazards at the plant. Telephoning from Los Alamos, N.M., where Kerr-McGee had sent her for decontamination—interestingly enough, on the eve of new union negotiations—Karen proudly told OCAW official Steve Wodka that she still had the documents. Set up the meeting with David Burnham of the *New York Times*, she told him; I'll be there.

On the night of Nov. 12, Karen Silkwood flew back from Los Alamos for a surprise appearance at the OCAW-Kerr-McGee negotiations. The meeting with Burnham was set for the next night.

According to a reconstruction of the accident by outside insurance experts consulted by the defense, Karen Silkwood's Honda sedan was slammed in the rear by another car travelling 55-60 mph along a dark Route 74 just outside Oklahoma City. At about 7:20 p.m., the crash sent the car hurtling off the highway and into a concrete bridge culvert, killing Silkwood instantly. The Kerr-McGee documents with her never made their way into the hands of the *New York Times*.

These were the facts Danny Sheehan learned when he took on the case in 1976, two years after the apparent foul play.

What he would slowly put together, piece by piece, over the next two years was the existence of a secret intelligence network that had been spying on Silkwood—a network drawn together by security agents of Kerr-McGee, the Okla-

homa City Police Intelligence Unit, the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, private security consultants, and a secret, unofficial, shadowy national intelligence collection network, the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit.

In support of a \$2.5 million suit against Kerr-McGee brought by Silkwood's relatives, Sheehan has gathered evidence of a conspiracy by those elements to cover up safety hazards at the Kerr-McGee plant and the true circumstances of Silkwood's death.

The network began to unravel on April 26, 1976. Rep. John Dingell, then chairman of the House subcommittee on Energy and the Environment, had opened hearings that day into the Silkwood affair. One of those testifying was Jacques Srouji, ostensibly a journalist from Nashville who had gathered material on Karen Silkwood as part of the research for her book on nuclear power.

Even before the hearings had begun, however, Srouji had volunteered to the committee's staff investigator, Peter Stockton, that Silkwood was a "sexually-promiscuous, dope-smoking child deserter. Any effort to make a heroine of her would only prove to be an embarrassment to the Congress."

She further told Stockton, according to court documents, that she could prove her assertions from transcripts taken from wiretaps and bugs of Silkwood's conversations—transcripts she had gotten from James Reading, director of security of the Kerr-McGee Corporation. Srouji added that she had obtained the transcripts "in a secret meeting set up for her with Reading by Lawrence J. Olsen, the chief FBI investigator in the Silkwood case," according to Stockton. She told Stockton she would give him the transcripts, but when he travelled to Nashville for them, she backed out. Clearly, Stockton began to suspect, there was being mounted an attempt to derail the hearings.

But why? And by whom?

On the Senate side, there had been equally disturbing events. In response to a letter-writing campaign, New York Senator Abraham Ribicoff, chairman of the Government Operations Committee, had agreed to take on an investigation, and assigned the probe to a subcommittee headed by Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-MT). Metcalf soon received a visit from Dean McGee, president of the corporation bearing his and the deceased Kerr's name. The investigation was cancelled.

On the House side, the investigation went forward. At the hearings on April 26, testifying as an "expert" on the Silkwood case, Srouji was forced to admit, under oath, that she had had access to raw FBI files as well as bugging transcripts on Silkwood, access denied to the committee itself. That prompted committee counsel Michael Ward to telephone FBI agent Larry Olsen immediately after the hearing to inquire about Silkwood.

"Mrs. Srouji," Olsen said cryptically, "has a very special relationship with the FBI that I am not at liberty to discuss."

Piqued, the counsel called Srouji's employer, John Seigenthaler, publisher of the *Nashville Tennessean*, and asked about the "very special relationship with the FBI." Seigenthaler called in Srouji, who confessed she had used her press credentials to infiltrate anti-war and civil rights groups for the FBI. Her control officer, she said, was Larry Olsen.

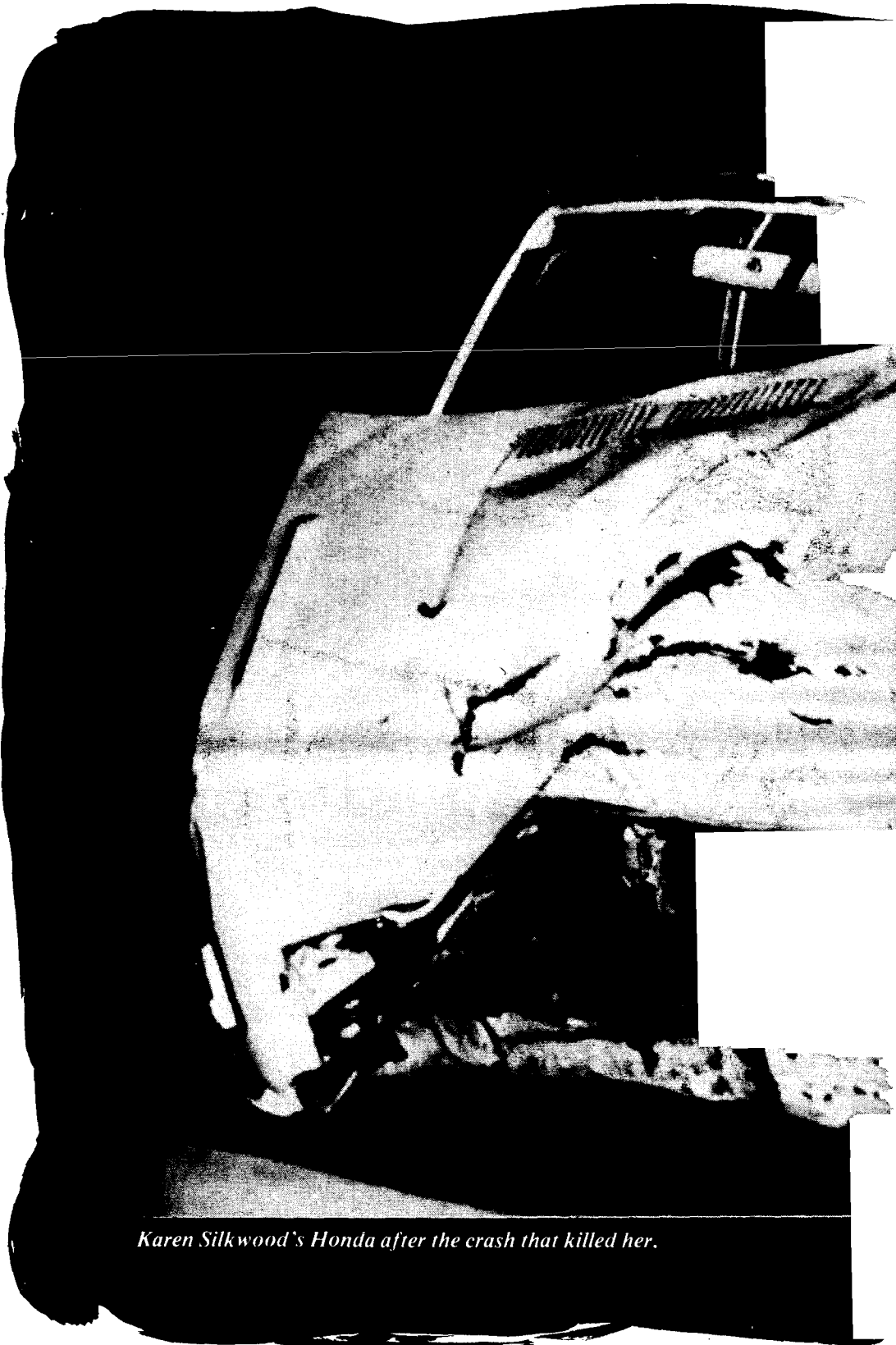
Now here was something that interested Danny Sheehan greatly. For in review-

ing this sequence of events as they unravelled in 1976, he remembered that FBI agent Olsen had been transferred from Nashville to Oklahoma City not long before Srouji had shown up on the scene after Silkwood's death to write a book on the nuclear industry, a book highly favorable to the industry.

As Sheehan pondered this, there were other unusual developments unfolding:

informant. Dingell was re-elected but stripped of his committee chairmanship.

At this point, Karen's father, Bill, began to suspect that neither the FBI nor the Congress was going to resolve the mystery surrounding his daughter's death. He asked Sheehan to initiate a suit. Bill Meadows, Karen's former husband, said he wanted to join the suit as co-plaintiff on behalf of their three children. Shee-



Karen Silkwood's Honda after the crash that killed her.

FBI agents began calling reporters at the *New York Times*' Washington bureau to warn them darkly, should they hear any complaints from Seigenthaler, that the publisher was "not entirely pure," and that they were investigating reports that Seigenthaler, a former Kennedy intimate, "goes to bed with little girls."

Seigenthaler would dramatically detail the FBI smear campaign to Dingell's committee at the close of hearings that spring, but then a funny thing happened on the way to the fall elections. In Detroit two weeks prior to the elections, a prostitute called a press conference to announce she had many customers who were Mafioso, but that her favorite customer of all was—John Dingell. Her roommate, it would turn out, was an FBI

han began his investigation in earnest.

He soon learned that Kerr-McGee had offered to pay contamination damages to Karen's roommate, Sherri Ellis. There, Sheehan thought, was the basis for Count 1 of the complaint, combined with evidence of the contamination of Silkwood herself.

A possible Count 2, Sheehan thought, might develop from evidence he had already gathered that Kerr-McGee security chief James Reading, perhaps in collusion with FBI, had bugged, wiretapped, and otherwise surveilled Karen Silkwood during her investigation of the company for the union.

Reading, Sheehan soon learned, was a 20-year veteran of the Oklahoma City Police Department and a close friend of

is said,
but

The Kerr-McGee security
chief was a friend of
two former police
intelligence commandos

The prostitute's
roommate was an
FBI informant.

two former commanders of the OCPD Intelligence Unit, Bill Vetter and Bob Hicks. The Intelligence Unit, a source told him, possessed wiretapping equipment. That was interesting: Oklahoma is one of a handful of states that absolutely prohibits wiretapping.

On Nov. 5, 1976, Sheehan filed a three count federal complaint against Kerr-McGee: negligent contamination of Silk-

wood had infiltrated the Washington, D.C., anti-war community for the FBI. (She is now on the staff of Rep. Larry Macdonald, a Georgia Democrat who is the youngest member of the John Birch Society's governing council.) *Information Digest* reports on the leadership structure of the Clamshell Alliance were provided to the FBI and New Hampshire Governor Meldrin Thomson by members of

Research West, Sheehan would learn from congressional investigators, was another private operation like *Information Digest* that collected information on dissidents. Several patterns then began to form: *Information Digest*'s John Rees had once listed his employment as a consultant to Wackenhut Security, a worldwide intelligence and security company also headquartered at Ft. Lauderdale. A vice-president of the company turned out to be on the board of directors of the John Birch Society. Also in Ft. Lauderdale: the Church League of America, which had taken over the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee when it was disbanded; as well as officers of intertel, another worldwide private intelligence organization, this one linked to gambling interests.

Sheehan soon learned that the Oklahoma P.D. Intelligence Unit had also purchased its bugging and wiretapping equipment from Audio Intelligence Devices, Inc., and that the company, until 1975, had also operated a companion firm by the name of National Intelligence Academy, Inc., which offered wiretapping and surveillance training to police officers from around the country and foreign agencies.

Turning back to Oklahoma City after learning all this, the Silkwood team uncovered a source who had formerly worked in the OCPD Intelligence Unit. "This woman," Sheehan declared in an affidavit, "confirmed that Bill Vetter, Larry Baker, and Larry Upchurch (OCPD officers) had engaged, throughout the entire period of her employment by the Intelligence Unit, in unlawful wiretapping, breaking and entering, and electronic surveillance. This woman had personally typed transcription (sic) of repeated wiretaps undertaken by men in the OCPD Intelligence Unit."

The investigation then established that one OCPD officer, along with an OCPD informant, gathered information specifically on Silkwood prior to her death and supplied that information to James Reading, Kerr-McGee's security chief.

Looking over their shoulders toward what they had learned in Georgia, the Silkwood team then discovered that Georgia Power's Arthur Benson had requested information on Karen Silkwood as well. Benson had made the request through a contact in the Georgia State Police Bureau of Investigation. The discovery prompted the unearthing of yet another intelligence network.

Benson's contact, it turned out, was also a member of an organization called the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit, a national police network set up in 1956 to aid local and state police departments in keeping tabs on organized crime.

Officials of the LIEU had repeatedly told congressional committees that their targets were organized crime figures alone. But as both the Silkwood investigators and the Alliance to End Repression, a Chicago coalition, learned this year, the LIEU maintained intelligence files on political activists and others, and included officials of at least two California utilities in its meetings.

The LIEU computers in East Lansing, Mich., had been funded by the federal government. So was the purchase of wiretapping equipment for the Oklahoma City Police Department, Sheehan surmised. A new round of discovery motions and requests for subpoenas began. Meanwhile, the third judge to preside over the case

was appointed; the first two had turned out to be in Kerr-McGee's pocket.

"You know, this is fantastic, really, almost beyond the imagining," said an exhausted Danny Sheehan after a three-hour review of the case in Washington a few weeks ago. "Except, in a way, it all makes a lot of sense."

"Look at it this way. In the early '70s, the intelligence community, because of Watergate and then later the CIA assassination revelations, all came under attack. And at the same time, under Nixon, the LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which funnels priority police grants to state and local units) was going nowhere as long as it concentrated on organized crime. Then, all of a sudden, it got interested in terrorism. Terrorism became a big catchword, and the money started to flow into terrorism prevention. And what were they worried about—at least on the surface? Nuclear terrorists, right?"

"So, all of a sudden, there was a bureaucratic rationale, as well as an intelligence rationale, to begin collecting information on anti-nuclear activists—in a big way. And by using the power companies, the LIEU, and the private intelligence organizations—well, perhaps they were able to hide it a lot better this way, put it under deep cover. Remember—the FBI and CIA were being hauled up before all those congressional committees. This way, they had a plausible denial that the spying, like on Silkwood, was going on."

Sheehan paused. "There was another part to it, too. It's not impossible to think that Karen Silkwood had stumbled on the deliberate siphoning off of plutonium into some kind of a black market, or to some foreign government—all with the covert blessing of the CIA."

Jacque Srouji, he said, had also been collecting information on Soviet nuclear developments, and had actually travelled to the USSR in 1976, ostensibly for her book. And the book's publisher, Dominic DeLorenzo of Aurora Publishers in Nashville, she would say under oath once and then later deny it, was a CIA operative.

"This is, I admit, all pretty mind-numbing," Sheehan said with a tight smile, stretching back in his chair, "but you asked me how do I see it, and that's how I see it."

"Karen Silkwood's death, and all of the stuff we've uncovered around it, is, I think, just a part of a much bigger story."

On Sept. 25, Judge Frank G. Theis ruled that the Silkwood attorneys had not established a conspiracy, but otherwise declined to rule on the merits of the case.

"There are an awful lot of ghosts in this case," Theis said. "Either I'm going to put them to rest once and for all, or they're going to get up and walk."

The Silkwood camp has entered appeals in order to proceed with depositions of key individuals lurking in the background of the case—the private intelligence operatives, utility officials and federal officers who may have doled out the money for surveillance against the anti-nuclear activists.

They hope to have an answer as early as Nov. 13, when memorial demonstrations are planned around the country in honor of Karen Silkwood's life and death.

Jeff Stein is Washington correspondent for the *Boston Phoenix*.



wood; a conspiracy to violate her civil rights as a union activist; and a conspiracy to cover up the facts of the case. Nuclear power was put on trial in Oklahoma.

And elsewhere. Sheehan and the Silkwood defense team, now augmented by trained investigators, began to discover a national, shadowy intelligence network targeted against anti-nuclear activists.

In New Hampshire, the Clamshell Alliance found itself the target of a collection effort sparked by a known FBI and state police informant, John Rees, who published a private intelligence newsletter on activists groups called *Information Digest*, which was circulated to police intelligence units in New Hampshire and elsewhere. His wife, Sheila, it would turn out, was also a known police spy who

the U.S. Labor Party, an obscure group that, among other things, advocates the rapid development of nuclear fusion power sources.

Silkwood investigators then turned their attention to the Georgia Power Co., within which a unit, headed by a former CIA officer and Bay of Pigs veteran, Arthur Benson, had amassed voluminous files on anti-nuclear activists. The company was also found to have been supplied with surveillance equipment manufactured by a Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., security firm, Audio Intelligence Development Corp. Also found: a bill from a California company by the name of Research West, Inc., for "investigative services rendered." (See *ITT*, Aug. 30 for Seth Derish's article on Research West.)

LETTERS

LET'S KEEP IT THAT WAY

IN ATTEMPTING TO REBUT MY ATHEIST letter, *ITT*'s editor implied that socialist atheists who condemn religion are dogmatic (*ITT*, Oct. 4). (Ironically, in that same issue, one article pointed out that religious groups form the backbone of California's anti-gay crusade, while another showed religion's role in the fascist paramilitary right!)

Nobody denies that religious people occasionally become leftists, but the vast majority don't. A recent Gallup poll demonstrated that, generally, religious people are more conservative and less tolerant than the nonreligious.

Finally, in our time, the religion of the major churches is little more than a convenient tax dodge for their profiteering as giant multinational corporations. The Catholic church alone has assets exceeding those of AT&T and U.S. Steel combined! Can anyone really be so naive as to believe that religion, with its vested interest in capitalism, would oppose the system that feeds it?

I'll end this with a quote that speaks for itself. Before he died, the late Pope John Paul reminded Christians that it's a mistake "to state that political, economic and social liberation coincides with salvation in Christ." (Quoted from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Sept. 21.) I rest my case.

—Tyrone Walls
Chicago

ME, TOO

AS A SOCIALIST WHO HAS DECLARED his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Congress, I was very interested in reading the article (*ITT*, Sept. 27) about Russ Christensen.

Christensen, who says, "I'm proud to call myself a socialist," is a Democratic candidate for a seat in the Maine legislature.

I congratulate him on forcing a public discussion and debate on the merits of socialism. We need to encourage the apparent trend toward avowed socialists running for office, frequently on the Democratic ticket.

I recently announced that I believe in a "socialist democracy, with worker control of business and industry" and will work toward that end. I have announced that I will file for the Democratic nomination for a seat in the U.S. Congress. The next filing date in Illinois is in December 1979, with the primary scheduled for March 1980.

Incidentally, I have received quite favorable response to my lengthy statement supporting a democratic socialist society. What we need, and need badly, is a serious discussion in the U.S. on the question of a socialist society. If that

occurs, I have no doubt that a great many more persons will become active in the great historic struggle for a just, free and democratic society.

—Allan Keith Jr.
Mattoon, Ill.

PAIR OFF

MONTE BUTE'S PERSPECTIVE (*ITT*, Sept. 27) was brilliant. Comparing the 1970s to the 1880s is the most intelligent thing I've heard about the '70s. But I don't see the corporate elite retooling the political economy. Where is the evidence? They can't pass an energy bill or defend the currency, to say nothing of calling home their disaffected children (many of whom are in our ranks) or make the necessary currency or structural modifications.

The bourgeoisie gets many of its ideas from the left. Here in South Dakota, hardly the epicenter of the bourgeoisie, our liberals of national standing at times find it necessary to spy on us for ideas. All this has great bearing for electoral politics. A journal of your stature should be telling us "how" not "whether" when it comes to elections.

Part of "how" is understanding the liberal media strategy. Politicians often try to pull their opponents off-side or have themselves attacked in a way that helps them.

Finally, running one (or more) candidates for President is tempting, but it would make for more sense to pair off at 200 U.S. House seats.

—Don Stevens
Custer, S.D.

ALL SO STUPID

AN ANGRY NOTE JUST BRIEFLY—TO Arefuse Holly Near a seat on the U.S. Cultural Delegation to the World Youth Festival in Havana, Cuba, based on her lesbianism is not only counterrevolutionary but, in view of the California Briggs Initiative and the oncoming repression of the gay community in America, it is downright stupid.

No wonder no one in this country wants to be associated with the left or with sexist women's movements. You are all so stupid.

—Louise H. Preble
Santa Cruz, Calif.

CORRECTION

In last week's issue, a serious error appeared in "Jimmy Carter labors with the press," by Pat Strandt.

The reference to shaking "that bloody hand" was to Lyndon B. Johnson in the original. Editing cuts changed the meaning.



"I'll tell you what we need, Howard: Federal matching funds!"

FIGHTING BACK

NORMAN MARKOWITZ NOTED IN HIS review of David Cauter's *The Great Fear* (*ITT*, Sept. 13) that: "Cauter fails to portray adequately the resistance of Communists and those on the left who refused to collaborate with the forces of oppression."

I would like to alert your readers that Steven Englund and I have just finished a manuscript that documents and analyzes the efforts of the Hollywood left screenwriters to obstruct and defeat the invading army of FBI agents and HUAC gumshoes, and stiffen the backbones of the producers and liberals in the film community.

The book, to be published next fall by Anchor/Doubleday, proves Markowitz' point that, though the achievement of the resisters was limited—i.e., they bought time and space for hundreds of people—their efforts were mighty. The Hollywood left did write a "remarkable chapter," perhaps their most important production.

—Larry S. Ceplair
Los Angeles

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double-space letter, or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

DIALOG

What's possible in Middle East

The editorial "Camp David Accords: Framework for Strife" (*ITT*, Sept. 27) shows incredible naivete about what is and is not possible in Middle East diplomacy, especially when discussing the Palestine Liberation Organization. The editorial complains that "the terms [of the 'Framework for a Middle East Peace Settlement' agreed upon at Camp David] exclude the PLO," while seemingly taking it for granted that the PLO should be a partner to the negotiations.

The PLO is officially committed by its 1964 Covenant, as amended several times, to a "secular, democratic" state in Palestine, i.e., the end of the predominantly Jewish state of Israel. Specifically, the Palestine National Council (the PLO's governing body) resolved on June 8, 1974, that "the PLO will struggle against any plan for the establishment of a Palestinian entity the price of which is recognition [of Israel], conciliation [with it], secure boundaries, renunciation of the national right, and our people's deprivation of their right to determine their fate on their national borders" (emphasis added).

ITT owes its readers at least some minimal argument for why an organization so unequivocally committed to Israel's destruction, which as recently as last March killed over 30 civilians on Israeli buses, should be a partner to negotiations. Among Jewish Israelis, who agree on almost nothing these days, there is a near-unanimous consensus against dealing with the PLO.

For all its charges of American meddling in Mideast affairs, the editorial conveniently neglected to note that the PLO is backed by both the USSR (itself not exactly innocent of Mideast "meddling") and Saudi Arabia, one of the most reactionary states in the world.

To clarify my own views: I believe in the establishment of a Palestinian state *provided*—and only provided—such a state is clearly willing to live in peace alongside Israel, with which it should and must have normal diplomatic, economic, and other kinds of relations. I also believe that Israel should be willing to negotiate with any Palestinian leaders who (1) are representative (2) are willing to recognize Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state in the Mideast and (3) renounce terrorism as an instrument of policy.

Yasir Arafat, George Habash, and other present PLO leaders perhaps fulfill only the first of these conditions; it does not appear likely that they will fulfill the second and third in the near future. Unless and until they do, socialists should be addressing their "hard questions" to the PLO, not to the Israelis, Egyptians or Americans.

—David M. Szonyi
David M. Szonyi, a doctoral candidate in modern European and modern Jewish history at Stanford and a contributing editor of the *Baltimore Jewish Times*, was an executive board member of Breira.

ITT REPLIES

It is a fact that the terms of the Middle East Framework exclude the PLO from negotiations. The complaint is that it seems unreasonable to exclude one of the major parties to a conflict from negotiations to end it. Also, that depriving the Palestinians of government by their own consent is a prescription for continuing conflict.

We believe that the mutual recognition by Israel and the Palestinians of each other's existence and national sovereignty is essential to a lasting Middle East peace. To achieve this, negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians are indispensable. Otherwise, normal diplomatic relations between two states cannot replace violent conflict, and mutual friendship and cooperation cannot develop. As the PLO represents at least a substantial portion of the Palestinian people, such negotiations cannot occur without PLO participation. The Israeli principle of no preconditions to negotiations with Egypt is a good one to apply to its negotiating with the Palestinians.

We believe the PLO policy of refusing to recognize Israel as a state is as wrong in principle as Israel's refusal to recognize a Palestinian state. It is, also, a source of weakness to the legitimate Palestinian national cause, tending to isolate the PLO from world opinion and making it a pawn of other powers (like Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, as well as the U.S.) that want to keep it isolated and that probably have no desire to see a Palestinian state established.

To make charges against U.S. "meddling" in the Middle East is as useless as making charges against sand in the desert. The question is what role the U.S. should play. We said nothing about the Soviet Union's "meddling" because the Soviet Union has had nothing to say in the current negotiations. The Soviets' exclusion was one purpose of the negotiations culminating at Camp David and it may ultimately be their chief weakness.

The questions we address to Israel are no "harder" than those of Nahum Goldmann (World Jewish Congress President, 1951-1977 and former President of the World Zionist Organization, in *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1978), and of Israeli Gen. (Ret.) Mattityahu Peled (*ITT*, June 14). Israel is, after all, the occupying power and incomparably stronger than the PLO. Now that Israel has achieved recognition by Egypt (followed *de facto* by other Arab states) as a member of the Middle East family of nations, with U.S. guarantees, it is in a position to negotiate peace with the Palestinians. If it does not, the peace with Egypt and other Arab states, and hence Israel's own permanent existence, will fall into grave jeopardy.

We plead guilty to "naivete." In international affairs, and in the Middle East especially, as Sadat's journey to Jerusalem and Begin's greater flexibility suggest, even the most solemn declarations are no dependable guide to possibilities, and naivete may well be the highest realism.

RED CENT COLLECTIVE

Marching forward into the 19th century with laissez-faire

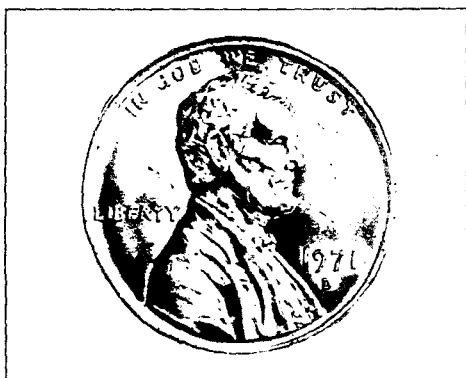
IN AN EDITORIAL LAST FALL

("What Ails the World Economy?") the editors of *Fortune* magazine fingered "social drag" as one of two major obstacles to renewed capitalist prosperity. (The other: the collapse of the dollar-based international monetary system and the rise of protectionism.) According to this editorial, "social drag includes such things as: welfare payments and unemployment benefits so generous that they erode incentive to look for work and to accept work that is offered; busy-body regulation...; bureaucratic overstaffing; statutory minimum wages...; government-granted privileges that enable labor unions to establish unreasonable work rules and to force wage increases far in excess of productivity gains."

In May this year the other shoe fell. *Fortune's* policy prescriptions:

- Enforce "massive cuts in federal spending" and a broad reduction in federal staff;
- Abandon the idea of a massive tax cut for consumers. Concentrate on cutting taxes on the business sector, especially on investment;
- Revise arbitrary federal laws that create inflation;
- Put a moratorium on social programs designed to redistribute income.

A growing body of "new right" economists have taken up Milton Friedman's



line: get the government out of the economy; stop using taxes and expenditures to attempt a Keynesian regulation of the level of unemployment. Their prescription: Limit federal inflation and employment policy to control over the money supply.

The merits of this so-called monetarist course are dubious. The American economy would almost certainly have plunged into a major recession in 1975-1977 without a distinctly unmonetarist government pump-priming. Excess government expenditures over taxes averaged \$40 billion annually over these years, a deficit 13 times the average of the previous 15 years. By placing more dollars in the hands of consumers and business than it took back in taxes, government deficits propped up the demand for goods and thus averted a major onslaught of unemployment.

Whatever the economic illogic of the new right's economics, however, its political appeal to capitalists makes it a win-

ner. Monetarism safely locks up the instruments of national economic policy in the business-dominated vaults of the Federal Reserve System.

Last year the U.S. had both a higher inflation rate and a higher unemployment rate than in any year between 1948 and 1972. This is a telling indictment of the so-called trade-off between joblessness and rising prices. Arthur Okun, President Lyndon Johnson's architect of these Keynesian policies, told the businessmen of the Chicago Economic Club that "we cannot count on our current policies to pull us out of the stagflation swamp."

The fatal flaw in the Keynesian program is its inability to contain class struggle. For Keynesianism to work, the federal government must be able to hold down wages during periods of rapid economic expansion and near full employment so that profits continue to grow.

But can the federal government control wages? Labor shows no sign of cooperating this time around.

A major segment of business opinion has apparently lost confidence that it can actively use an interventionist state to restore the conditions for profitability. Elements of the corporate elite have thus adopted by default what amounts to a laissez-faire non-policy. Business has taken to the tube and to the classroom to construct what may turn out in retrospect to look like its Maginot line.

For the time being, corporate ideological overtures are likely to be welcome on most campuses. But not all. When the University of Tulsa School of Business was offered a Chair of Free Enterprise, a local wag proposed a Chair of Feudalism and a Chair of Godless Communism. The offer was withdrawn in the face of mounting faculty opposition.

Nonetheless, most college administrations welcome the chairs, or take a beggars-can't-be-choosers attitude; 77 percent of faculty members and administrators surveyed by Louis Harris and Associates said they would welcome increased contact with corporate executives.

The success of laissez-faire strategy depends on redistributing income towards corporate profits. This means inflicting on working people a substantial reduction in their standard of living. The critical moves here will be business attempts to cripple environmental and work safety controls, reduce social service expenditures, and lower corporate taxation. But

as this strategy yields massive human costs, patent pocket lining, and \$120 billion wasted yearly in unused productive capacity, its proponents may not be able to mobilize enduring electoral support.

It seems equally unlikely that the interventionist-oriented capitalists of the Trilateral Commission will be able to reconstruct the old New Deal/Great Society labor-capital alliance. This coalition, which built the welfare state and enjoyed clear sailing for three decades in the long post-war boom, has foundered on the shoals of the 1970's stagnation. Crucial to this alliance, and the Keynesian and welfare policies which it pursued, was its ability to bury the hatchet of class conflict in a morass of interest-group squabbles over income distribution.

As long as most groups got paid off more or less regularly, nobody left the game. LBJ understood: "There's going to be enough for everybody, and that means the folks we have to take a little from won't miss it so much." But this muting of class conflict required a rapidly growing economy, the prospects for which are hardly auspicious.

The prospect is for a much sharper division between capital and labor over wages and "management prerogatives." Under the rather persuasive pressure of economic events, helped along, ironically, by business propaganda, the unlikely Keynesian proposition that massive liberal social programs contribute not only to keeping social peace but to maintaining profits as well is losing credibility.

Movements for public day care, for adequate unemployment compensation, for a comprehensive national health program, and for a decent welfare system will encounter an increasingly unified and unyielding capitalist class. It seems likely that in the decade ahead gains are to be won only through the forging of a broad popular coalition of those who would bear the brunt of capital's free enterprise strategy for restoring the profit rate. The divisive interest-group politics essential to the New Deal/Great Society class compromise may well give way to a popular realignment which will force the question: Which side are you on?

The Red Cent Collective consists of socialist economists working in Amherst, Mass.: Sam Bowles, Joe Bowring, Harry Cocaine, Richard Edwards, Diane Flaherty, Michele Naples, Nancy Rose, Juliet Schor and Andrew Zimbalist.

BOOKS

Science, technology follow corporate design

AMERICA BY DESIGN: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism

By David F. Noble

Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1977

In an era when academic social science increasingly reflects the highly specialized division of labor in the business world, it is a pleasure to discover a work that attempts to transcend the parochial limitations of the intellectual workplace and grapple with major social and political issues. It is even more gratifying because David F. Noble, the author of *America by Design*, manages to root those broader issues in a coherent and intelligent historical analysis.

Noble focuses on the relationship between technological innovation, corporate capitalism, and social change. It is a commonplace that without modern scientific technology, corporate capitalism as we know it could not exist. But Noble shows that the development of modern technology since the early 20th century has been shaped fundamentally by the changing needs of capitalist enterprise. Neither can be adequately understood apart from the other.

Noble rejects "technological determinism"—the notion that technological advance proceeds somehow on its own, independently dictating the course of social change. People create and control technology, Noble believes. It has no life of its own. Technological change presupposes human agency and design.

Noble's hook is about those individuals in early 20th century America who

directed technological change and determined the ends it was made to serve. They were the engineer-managers of the new science-based electrical and chemical industries who contributed in crucial ways to the rise of corporate capitalism.

The professional engineer personified the union of scientific technology with corporate capitalism.

The "new breed" engineer-managers succeeded the 19th century engineer-entrepreneurs. They assumed a vital role in fashioning the new corporate order. As a self-conscious vanguard of the second industrial revolution in America, the new engineers perceived no contradiction between their goals of scientific-technological progress and corporate growth. As they climbed the corporate ladder to managerial positions within their own industries their dual commitment became stronger.

Noble shows in great detail how the engineers of the new science-based corporations laid the foundation for a corporate imperium that has since come to dominate all aspects of social life.

For example, they formed the nucleus of the movement for patent law reform that eventuated in securing a virtual corporate monopoly over patents and therefore over inventions.

As leaders of the first industries to develop large-scale research and development programs, the new breed succeeded in integrating industrial research into the normal curricula of universities, and in creating a centralized national agency to coordinate scientific research in support of industry. The corporate engineers

were also responsible for standardizing industrial equipment and machinery without which the large-scale production made possible by corporate mergers and consolidations could not have been realized.

Their zeal for scientific standardization also extended into the area of "personnel management" and "human engineering." Noble traces modern management techniques to the efforts of corporate engineers to rationalize the labor process in much the same way they had rationalized the machinery of production. In fact, the assumptions, methods and aims of the two were identical, the only difference being that a new tool, "industrial psychology," had to be devised to ensure the efficient working of what the masters of technology termed the "human machine." Under the banner of science, a "technology of social production"—a technology of people as well as of machinery—was created to ensure corporate efficiency and stability.

One of the more intriguing parts of Noble's study shows how virtually all of the major corporate reform efforts were given a boost by what one corporate spokesman described as the "unique opportunity" presented by World War I. For instance, in cooperation with the War Department, corporate engineers invoked war-time necessity to introduce into universities such personnel management procedures as standardized "objective" tests and various rating and guidance techniques. The corporate-controlled National Research Council and American Council on Education were also products of gov-

ernment-corporation war-time cooperation.

As contributions to the war effort, corporate objectives were translated into lasting national policies. The easy acceptance of corporate executives' plans by military officials was perhaps to be expected if only because they shared a similar creed. The cardinal corporate virtues of loyalty, discipline, obedience and "teamwork" are also basic precepts of military life.

Yet, as Noble shows, the corporate reformers did not ultimately succeed by preaching the virtues of corporatism pure and simple. A more palatable justification for corporate hegemony had to be constructed for the public at large. While political corporate liberals appealed to the tradition of liberal-capitalist ideology, the corporate engineers turned to the doctrine of scientific progress, the new deity of technological America. In both cases the objective was the same: a corporate order engineered to the laws of science and consecrated to the ethic of private gain, or as one engineer aptly described it, "a single working plant."

Noble has given us a comprehensive and detailed account of how class-conscious engineer-managers forged the tools of science and technology to serve the needs of corporate capital. It is a major contribution. It illuminates our present as well as our past, for as Noble reminds us, the vision of a "single working plant" was more than the corporate engineers' master design; it was also their legacy to future generations. —Scott R. Bowman
Scott R. Bowman is a political scientist at the University of California, Los Angeles.

M. RON KARENGA

Blacks and the GOP: The "Newest Deal" from same old deck

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE Roosevelt's New Deal coalition of blacks, liberals and labor, The Republican Party is making a serious effort to win black votes. Having reviewed the pivotal importance of the black vote in the last presidential election and having decided for various reasons that there is now hope of winning at least a part of it, Republicans have put together a strategy to capture it.

There are two basic aims of this strategy: 1) to win a significant share of the black vote in various elections, and failing this; 2) to minimize the size and effect of the Democrats' share. As Bill Brock, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, observed, "If Republicans can get the black vote down to where it does not come in overwhelmingly for the Democrats, it might just help Republican candidates win some close races."

This new thrust raises two fundamental questions: 1) Can the Republicans win a significant share of the black vote, and 2) will this effort, if successful, benefit black people? The likelihood of Republican success depends on the quality and extent of their investment in the effort and on how receptive blacks prove to be to changing conditions and attitudes.

The seriousness with which the Republicans have approached this task can be measured in part by what they've already done and plan to do:

- Set aside \$640,000 for recruitment and campaign finance of suitable black candidates;

- Hired Wright-McNeil and Associates, a Columbus, Ga., black political consulting firm to advise GOP candidates on how best to appeal to black voters. The price was \$257,000 last year and \$550,000 for the current year. The result has been four wins out of five election attempts with an astonishing 20-40 percent of the black vote;

- Launched the National Black Economic and Political Action Committee to recruit and fund-raise for black candidates. Also, the National Black Republican Council reports training black campaign organization workers in 31 states;

- Proposed minimum social welfare legislation to appeal to blacks, including federal funding for hard-core unemployed (Baker), tax incentives for business to move into urban hard-core unemployed areas (Brock), and greater black access to capital (Brooke);

- Established a dialogue with visible black leaders on the possibilities and desirability of blacks voting Republican in greater numbers. Both Jesse Jackson of PUSH and Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP have spoken before the Republican National Committee and expressed interest in a mutually beneficial cooperation toward this end.

Black receptivity to these overtures has been and, perhaps, will continue to be conditioned by four factors: 1) dissatisfaction with the Carter administration's failure to keep campaign promises, 2) increased political maturity, 3) loss of Hubert Humphrey, a visible Democratic party symbol of ties to the black community and 4) the growth and consolidation of a black middle class more sharply divided from the black masses and less sensitive to their needs than in the past.

Criticism of Carter's performance is pervasive, especially in the areas of employment and urban reform. Carter has



not only failed to offer a viable urban reform policy, but has been talking a fiscal conservatism that militates against social welfare projects. His reluctant support of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill even with severe modifications reflects his economic policy and resistance to social welfare projects.

Increased black political maturity is expressed by black political leaders' recent re-evaluation of the potential of the black vote and their new efforts to harness and use it more effectively. Two cases in point are: 1) the opening of dialogue with Republicans and the increasingly severe criticism of the non-reciprocal politics of the Democratic Party, and 2) the Congressional Black Caucus' Black Leadership Roundtable meeting in Washington in late September designed to develop a strategy greatly to increase the number of black members of Congress in the 1980 elections.

Whether the Roundtable will opt to run some of those candidates as Republicans is an open and important question. It is important also to note that the Roundtable is part of the Caucus' annual legislative weekend which has become perhaps the most important black political assembly since the Black National Conventions at Gary and Little Rock.

The loss of Sen. Humphrey as a visible and respected Democratic link to the black community no doubt increases the alienation process going on now between blacks and the Democratic Party. Mondale's name is mentioned from time to time as a substitute, but his relations with the black community show no signs of the respect and trust Humphrey (rightly

or wrongly) had achieved. In fact, Mondale's confrontation with the Black Caucus at a White House meeting in late September (ITT, Oct. 4) may have effectively ruled out the possibility entirely.

Finally, a factor working in the favor of the Republican party is the growth and consolidation of a black middle class, more sharply divided from the black masses. This class tends to be more insensitive to collective needs and more involved in professional advancement and protection of its gains in American society. It is disdainful of the concept of collective black interests and similar ideological positions and speaks more of personal gain and interests. State Sen. Julian Bond (D-GA) feels that the new black Republicans will come from this class.

Bond contends that they are "I've got mine, you get yours" Republicans who emerged during Nixon's presidential reelection campaign in '72. As "hustlers with no ideological underpinnings at all... they would even run as Nazis if they could profit from it. These blacks would have no qualms about being brokers between Republicans and the black community, if the price were right.

Although the above analysis seems to indicate positives for the Republican "Newest Deal," the alliance process is complicated by factors that militate against it and that even pragmatic, unprincipled brokers won't easily overcome:

- The historical trend of blacks' voting Democratic. The Joint Center for Political Studies reports that in the last four presidential elections no Republican nominee has approached 20 percent of the black vote. Ford received only 8 percent in 1976.

- The image of Republicans in the black community as an "anti" party. As one Georgian NAACP official noted, "Their philosophy has been messed up. They're anti-social security, anti-welfare, anti-busing and anti-food stamps. They're just anti."

- Concrete ideological and political differences between the racism and conservatism of domestic Republican policy and the social welfare, government-intervention thrust of black interests; between the chauvinistic and imperialistic emphasis of Republican foreign policy and the an-

ti-racist, anti-imperialist, pro-liberation thrust of black interests.

- The resistance of conservative Republican stalwarts to: 1) reconciling these differences, and 2) possibly wasting time and efforts to attempt to bring such a problematic and historically Democratic element into the party.

The final question of whether or not the "Newest Deal" would benefit blacks remains open, yet points toward a negative answer. The move is obviously problematic for both sides, but could be most detrimental to blacks. It is, of course, desirable that blacks, as Malcolm X put it, neither be in the hip pockets of Democrats nor out of reach to the Republicans. "There's more power in non-alignment," he argued, "than there is in alignment" with any one party. The problem, however, is establishing an effective non-alignment that avoids at least two dangers: 1) the intention to use being turned into the fact of being used, and 2) the black brokers' pushing and realizing personal and class interests rather than mass interests.

Such avoidance requires a structure neither black nor white Democrats nor Republicans favor or want to face—a national black party. Organized correctly around collective black interests, such a party would be and ought to be more than a vote-getting machine.

It would also be capable of defining the nature and objective of any political alliance, and check black brokers employed to facilitate them. Moreover, it could organize the black masses around their own interests and in the process provide them with a *political education* and *historical experience* that would genuinely aid them in the struggle to define and take control of their destiny and daily lives. Without such a collective power-focused structure, the "Newest Deal" will almost certainly degenerate into great profits for black brokers and other professionals and the serving of chitlins and playing of soul music at Republican functions for the black masses. ■

M. Ron Karenga is a lecturer in Pan-African Studies at California State University, Los Angeles. His book, *Afro-American Nationalism: An Alternative Analysis*, will be published next spring by Third World Press.

Re-Forms

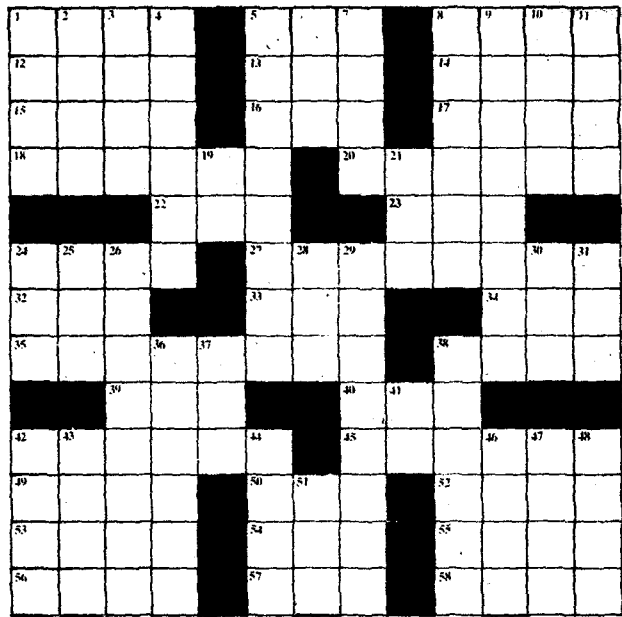
By Jay Shepherd

ACROSS

- 1 Half (prefix)
- 5 Extinct bird
- 8 Like the Sahara
- 12 News bit
- 13 Japanese culinary delight
- 14 Distance (comb. form)
- 15 Word with dragon
- 16 _____ Chellean (lower Paleolithic)
- 17 Frank
- 18 Trudeau's turf
- 20 Most elegant
- 22 Oahu neckwear
- 23 "Les Fleurs du _____" (Baudelaire)
- 24 Scarlett's home
- 27 Thought of
- 32 Pindaric work
- 33 A Gabor sister
- 34 Greek vowel
- 35 Harbinger
- 38 Arabian port
- 39 Weather vane direction
- 40 Split item, at times
- 42 Sickle's counterpart
- 45 Bunk need
- 49 Eban
- 50 Native (suffix)
- 52 Not great
- 53 Antiquated court unit
- 54 Twice
- 55 Arm bone
- 56 To be, to Pascal
- 57 Help!
- 58 Type of hammer

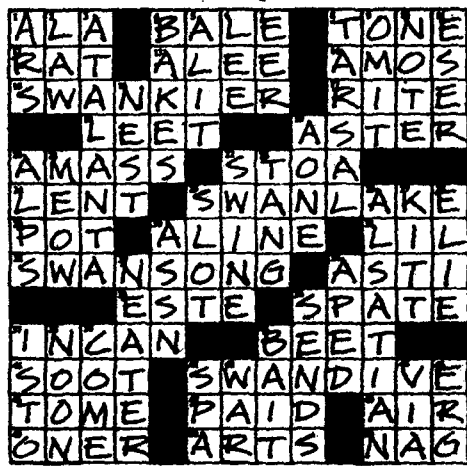
DOWN

- 1 Slipped item, at times
- 2 Dangerous spout, historically
- 3 Intend
- 4 Gazelle's cousin
- 5 Brought back to health
- 6 "_____ the land of the free..."
- 7 Musical sign
- 8 Like some modern music
- 9 Showed aversion
- 10 French isles



- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 11 Impression | 36 Jail resident |
| 19 French particle | 37 Jacqueline Onassis, _____ |
| 21 "_____ Yankee Doodle dandy..." | Bouvier |
| 24 Craggy hill | 38 Totals |
| 25 Lemon drink | 41 Chem. element |
| 26 What the Alamo makes you do | 42 Hearty's companion |
| 28 Actress Arden | 43 Help |
| 29 Irresponsible | 44 Teases |
| 30 Parisian season | 46 Mete |
| 31 Newscaster Rather | 47 Serf |
| | 48 Type of horse |
| | 51 Pedro's uncle |

Answer to last week's puzzle:



July 7: China
Cuts Off Aid
to Albania

Why has
China
attacked
socialist
Albania?



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LIFE IN THE U.S.

ELECTIONS

Briggs digs in, Milk pours it on

By Stephen Bloom

WALNUT CREEK, CALIF.

IN FOSH WALNUT CREEK, A SUBURB 35 miles from San Francisco, State Senator John Briggs pointed to gay San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk and said, "I don't want you to have access to my children."

"Briggs," someone shouted from the audience, "we are your children."

John Briggs, the sponsor of an initiative that would ban homosexuals from teaching in the state's public schools, fidgeted with his pen and quipped.

He looked out to the 900 people who had shown up at his first Bay Area debate, with gay activist Milk. Although the debate was held in Contra Costa County's conservative valley town, Briggs was out-matched, both by Harvey Milk and the crowd.

"San Francisco has the reputation as being the homosexual mecca of this country," Briggs said.

The people in the bleachers in the high school gymnasium, mostly gays, cheered.

He sat ramrod straight in his chair and forced a smile. "In San Francisco," Briggs, a former insurance salesman from Orange County, said, "it is estimated that one-third of the teachers are gay."

"The problem isn't homosexuals, it's when they are public school teachers. Parents have the right to determine who can teach their children. Children should not look up to homosexuals."

The media crews, all the newspapers and television stations, had turned out for the night. Panning the audience, catching the few gay males with earrings or holding hands, the cameras with bright lights zoomed in for close-ups.

In the bleachers, two gay women sat shaking their heads. When the KTVU camera man came close to get a close-up shot of them, they both looked down dumbly at the floor. Both were teachers, one for the Hayward School District, and both wanted to keep their jobs.

The audience was stacked against Briggs from the start. When the crowd hissed and hooted Briggs, Harvey Milk raised his hands over his head and urged the crowd to keep quiet. Stay calm, let Briggs have his say. TV cameras are here.

Briggs was uncomfortable. He speaks with a lisp, and the longer he spoke, the worse his lisp got. "According to one of my homosexual friends I'm in contact with," he began. Then, realizing the unintentional *faux pas*, he stopped, smiled in a bemused way, and waited for the laughter of the audience to subside.

"Children are a very precious resource. I don't want them to emulate a homosexual teacher. This is a moral question and nothing more."

Briggs, his body quivering, his ankles neatly crossed, quoted those who favor his position banning homosexuals from teaching in public schools. "I think California Sen. S.I. Hayakawa says it all: 'Homosexuality is a failure of sexual development. I guess they are entitled to be as sick as they like.'"

A pair of double-dating Walnut Creekers, not more than 16 years old, clapped on the other side of the gymnasium.

"A young homosexual should go to a pastor or a psychiatrist if he is gay, not a teacher or a politician. It just isn't fair for the student to put a homosexual in a classroom as a model. And you know, despite this crowd tonight, there are many lawyers and teachers who support me."

Briggs may be right. Although only one group has come out publicly in support of the Proposition 5—the Deputy Sheriff's Association of Los Angeles—the



San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk surrounded by supporters after debating anti-gay leader John Briggs.

In front of a mostly gay audience Briggs was uncomfortable. He talks with a lisp; the longer he spoke the worse his lisp got. He wants to ban gay teachers from public schools.

most recent Mervin Field Poll, released three weeks ago, reported that 60 percent of those polled favored a ban on gay teachers in public schools.

Harvey Milk has taken on the role of Briggs' nemesis. He knows what he is up against. Milk is slight, and looks like a wiz kid. Before moving to San Francisco in 1972 he was a Wall Street financial analyst. He opened a small camera store there, organized merchants into a block club, and was elected last year to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors—something that got him and San Francisco much media attention because he is gay.

During the debate Milk countered Briggs with everything from comparing Briggs to Hitler—"Hitler started with banning gays, and then Jews"—to claiming that the Bible makes no reference to homosexuality. "Like Christ, we should accept everyone with love, not hate. Christ was about accepting everyone and giving love, not carrying the Bible in one hand, and hatred in the other."

Picking all this up were the media crews panning again for close-up shots. Katie Tong, from Channel 5, sallied to the other side of the gymnasium to interview people in the audience. She asked an elderly couple holding hands. "What would you do if your child was a homosexual?"

After some laughing from the bleacher section filled mostly with gays, a lady with a stiff blonde beehive, and her husband in a leisure suit, got up and moved to the back—less commotion there.

They sat near James Swank of Pittsburg, smiling and clapping like he'd just won a \$25,000 keno ticket. "Homosexuality is sinful," he told the interviewer after giving Briggs a standing ovation. Another Briggs backer who wouldn't give his name added, "No faggot's going to teach my kid."

Milk countered Briggs' arguments by saying, "Ninety-five percent of the nation's child abuse cases involves heterosexuals. Thirty percent of the heterosexual marriages are violent. Six million rapes are committed every year by heterosexuals. Based on statistics," he said, "It might be better if our school children were taught by gay people."

He went on, gaining momentum. "If this sick proposition passes and becomes law, that won't make it wrong to be a homosexual. For 100 years we treated blacks like property—and that was the law. The Constitution of the United States is not to protect the majority of the people. It is to protect the rights of the minority."

As Milk talked, warning of the ramifications of Prop. 5, Briggs was beaming,

his smug face, his thin lips, his bulging eyes—all of it, smiling. This man, three months ago culled only 1.4 percent of the Republican primary vote when he ran for governor.

Briggs admits that Prop. 6 is different from the anti-gay ordinances recently passed in Miami, Eugene, Wichita and St. Paul. In those cities, local city councils had passed ordinances specifically guaranteeing the rights of gays. Conservatives circulated petitions aimed at repealing those actions.

Here in California, there is no state law specifically protecting gay teachers' rights. Briggs' proposition doesn't repeal anything. It doesn't undo legislation that gives gays special attention. Briggs initiative creates discrimination against gays.

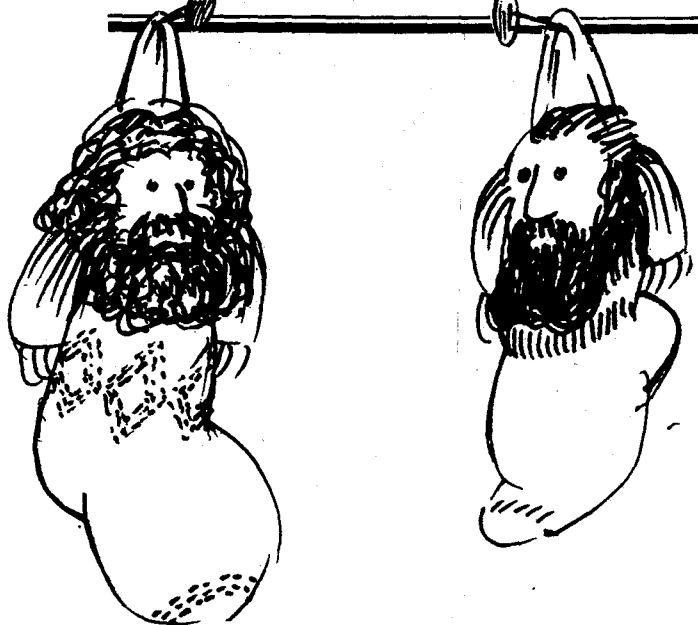
As Milk finished his address, a sense of impending doom filled the air—like someone had sprayed the gymnasium with insect repellent. And despite the windows being open, the air circulating, people laughing, people sensed that Briggs, however wild and evangelic, spoke for many people not present.

Even Jerry Brown is feeling Briggs pinch him where it hurts most. Last week his father, Pat, had to concoct rumors that he wishes Jerry and Linda Ronstadt would get married. The Brown people wanted to diffuse suspicion raised by the Briggs initiative that Jerry is gay. When you're 40 and have never married, people wonder. So Brown Senior leaked the non-news story of the week to former *San Francisco Examiner* columnist Syd Kossen.

The saddest part of the evening was that everyone had to behave for the TV cameras and had to let John Briggs, a ramrod man with a lisp and black patent shoes tell them they are sick.

Stephen Bloom is a free-lance writer in Berkeley.

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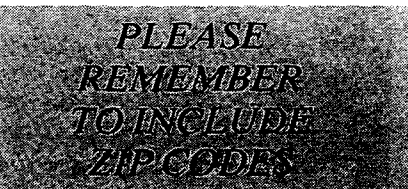
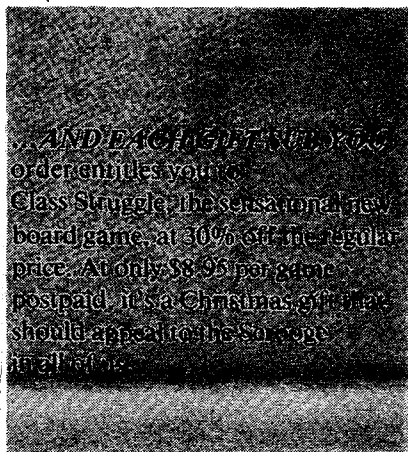
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South African movement

Continued from page 8.

that followed Sobukwe's death. He visited Swaziland and spoke only to Swazi government officials, ignoring the PAC branch members. A week later, the Swazi police detained 60 PAC members who were living in exile in Swaziland, without giving any explanation. The Swaziland PAC branch had been outspokenly opposed on ideological grounds to Leballo, and its members are reported to believe that he asked Swazi authorities to put them away for a while.

Seventeen of the detainees who had no place to go are still in jail; only Tanzania has offered them sanctuary, and since Leballo's headquarters are in Dar es Salaam, the Swaziland prisoners fear arrest or even execution by his men if they accept Tanzania's offer.

The Swaziland episode, coupled with a PAC knife fight in the streets of Dar es Salaam last winter, suggests that PAC is so badly torn by internal struggles that it may take some time to recuperate—even if the 18 people now on trial in South Africa do not, in fact, constitute its main internal leadership.

ANC's tight-knit underground.

There is no question, on the other hand, about who controls ANC. Nelson Mandela, one of the most respected blacks in South Africa, has been the party's president since 1967, though he has spent the last 15 years breaking stones on the notorious Robben Island. (Winnie Mandela, his wife, is currently on trial for breaking her own banning order.)

The Arnold-Bergstaesser Institute survey found that 18.6 percent of urban blacks view Mandela as their leader—an astonishing figure, since Mandela has been confined so long. But ANC is the oldest political party in South Africa (it was founded in 1912 and took its present name in 1924), and was the main black party when ANC and PAC were banned. As its president, Mandela remains the closest thing to an elected leader South African blacks can claim—even though ANC could not call a full congress when he was chosen, since it was already under the ban when Mandela's predecessor died.

The ANC was badly injured in 1963, when the South African police raided its underground headquarters in Rivonia, a Johannesburg suburb. All its leaders inside South Africa were jailed, and its underground network, then two years old, fell to pieces. The trials that followed the Rivonia raid shook the ANC; but they did not involve as much of the party's membership as had the arrests that followed the raid on PAC's Lesotho branch. In the 15 years that have passed since then, ANC has been able to build up a tightknit underground; but, once again, no one knows for sure how large its base really is.

In the months that preceded the Rivonia raid, South Africa had been filled with a sense of impending revolution. It was during this period that both ANC and PAC formed military branches; Sharpeville and the 1960 bannings made it clear the Nationalists would not permit non-violent resistance to apartheid, and black South Africans began to turn to sabotage. Hundreds of young ANC members left the country for military training camps in Tanzania, planning to return in six months to carry out the revolution.

When the Rivonia raid struck, ANC had sent enough of its leadership outside the country that it could continue to function, just as the PAC had done, with an outspoken external organization and an underground one inside South Africa. Its headquarters are in Zambia, it has representatives at the UN and scattered throughout the world, and it has training camps in Tanzania and Angola.

Soviet support.

ANC has received a great deal of support—in funds, equipment and training—from the Soviet Union and the Eastern European bloc, which has undoubtedly strengthened its Marxist-Leninist orientation—although it still claims to be a broad-based anti-apartheid party. China, following its

general anti-Soviet policy toward liberation movements in Africa, has given some support to the PAC.

These alliances have led to some peculiar configurations: While the ANC backed the Soviet-supported MPLA in the 1975 Angolan civil war, the PAC had little choice but to follow China and support the FNLA/UNITA coalition—which was in turn receiving aid from the South African government and the CIA.

The extent to which ANC's leadership

The USSR and China back different groups, with the usual results.

has been forced to act in exile and the amount of support it has received from the Soviet Union has led to charges that the party is made up of middle class, intellectual exiles who have lost touch with the masses inside South Africa. Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, student leaders in the 1976 riots, both claimed when they were on speaking tours in the U.S. last year that they had tried to contact ANC while they were in Soweto, but that they were unable to find it.

However, their claims have been roundly denied by other student refugees, who say the students worked closely with ANC throughout the disturbances. The other student refugees say Mashinini and Seatlholo are trying to discredit ANC in order to build up a third party they are trying to create (so far rather unsuccessfully) in Nigeria, and dismiss their statements about ANC as pure fiction.

Certainly the young unaligned refugees who have been leaving South Africa in droves over the last two years have tended increasingly to turn to ANC once they get outside. The PAC has been in disarray since Sobukwe's death, and its training camps in Tanzania and Zaire are not large enough to accommodate many more would-be soldiers; in addition, ANC has better relations with the countries bordering South Africa, so its members have an easier time going back and forth from the camps to their own country than PAC representatives. ANC also seems to be better organized, and can offer the security of a large party with a long history of struggle.

But three things must be remembered when you look at South Africa's liberation movement. First, it is in the regime's interest to play up the differences between the parties; as long as PAC, ANC and any other groups that emerge do not cooperate, white South Africa is safer than if they do. It is not surprising that white South African newspapers stress conflict between the liberation parties, for if freedom fighters concentrate on each other, the apartheid regime can last a little longer.

Second, the divisions in the exile communities that seem so important in the U.S. and Europe diminish as you get closer to the real struggle. If the ANC-PAC split appears to be of overwhelming importance in New York, it is very secondary in southern Africa, where freedom fighters can put their energy into resisting apartheid.

And finally, one has to remember that the question of the relative support inside South Africa for the Black Consciousness movement—simply cannot be answered, until black South Africans are able to speak freely for themselves.

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Photos/Peg McMahon

SPORTS

By Anita Diamant

BOSTON

AS THE RED SOX SLOWLY choked their way to the end of the season, Bill Lee fans pondered the fate of one of the only counter-cultural sports stars the game has to offer.

Lee started out the season gangbusters. In May and June he was among the winningest pitchers in the American League. The newspaper columnists were even warming up to Boston's bad boy, "Space-man" as he's called here.

Bill has a reputation as a nonconformist, a hippie, even a commie when he spoke warmly, though not uncritically, of his trip to the People's Republic of China.

The Sox's player representative, Lee had missed most of the 1977 season due to injuries he received in a Yankees-Boston melee in '76. But 1978 looked to be Bill Lee's year. As long as the man continued to win, his nemesis, crew-cut conservative manager Don Zimmer, couldn't touch him. Lee's outrageousness, which consisted of little unorthodoxies in dress and hair length, and of course his outspoken opinions about everything from baseball to solar energy, rankled the Zip. But while Lee was 7-2, there wasn't much he could do.

But the season wore on and as happens to virtually all major league pitchers, except Yankee Ron Guidry, Lee lost as well as won. He lost no more than fellow Boston hurler Jim Wright. He lost little more than million-dollar boys like Mike Torrez and Dennis Eckersley. He lost low scoring games (3-1, 3-2), games that the press agreed he deserved to win. And he got yanked from the line-up.

Jim Wright stayed, as did a struggling Bill Campbell. Lee has gotten the call from exile in the bullpen only for hopeless causes—where he pitched credibly.

To survive as an anti-hero you've got to be on top.

Bill Lee is aware of his anti-heroics. He's actively worked to create his image. And the name "Spaceman" doesn't feel like an insult to Bill. Compared to his fellow players, Lee seems lonely, isolated by his opinions—off in a different space. Maintaining his integrity as a public person, insisting on the connections between solar energy and baseball, you ask the man one question and get an answer to three—or maybe four.

"I'm the antithesis of the star. That's

the whole point. I'm an anti-star. Everyone asks me to do commercials and there isn't a product I'd do anything for except maybe ginseng tea. I do drink coffee but I don't believe coffee is right for people to drink. I eat things with sugar, but I'd never do anything that would advertise sugar because it's contrary to good health."

Now when Bill says stuff like that to the *Globe* sports writers, they have a field day. "Lee is a health food nut." And of course, they don't hear his reasons—or at any rate, they don't print them.

"I won't endorse anything. I did a public service spot for the 55 mph speed limit and I really don't know if what I did was truly correct or not. I didn't think I could be doing anything wrong, but in the long run I'll find out. I could be perpetuating something. Like if things go wrong enough, maybe we'll get to the point soon enough so man can change it. Kind of like thinking you're going along okay and then you get too far past the point of no re-

power. "I'm so much solar energy oriented. I'm totally against astro-turf. Astro-turf is made out of a petroleum. That's a fossil fuel that they pump up out of the ground at great expense. They make it. They could have used it for something else and they put it out there and you only need eight or nine people to take care of it."

"Now you've got grass growing here at Fenway Park. It absorbs shock better, it absorbs sound better. It's nicer to look at, it's nicer to run on. It's cooler; astro-turf is 140° when it's 80° outside."

Ask Bill Lee about his politics and you get a critique of what's wrong with baseball—from the inside: "I'm against specialization totally. I should be batting, most definitely. Bowie Kuhn and Charlie Finley and a lot of these people who thought they had ways of cutting money down, short-cutting things—that's a form of specialization. They figured they won't have to carry as many players because when the pitcher used to hit, you

To Lee the perfect game has as many doubled plays, walks, fly balls and infield hits as possible, without letting anyone score runs of course.

turn and the human species doesn't recover."

Talking about baseball, fame and ecology in one breath, Lee politicizes baseball wherever he goes, losing friends in the front office and gaining a diverse and loyal following.

Lee enjoys talking about baseball, but he prefers talking about "things in general. Everything is inter-related, you know." In that spirit, his criticism of baseball tends to be symbolic. "If everything is good in baseball, then everything else will fall into place."

For instance, ask Bill Lee about astro-turf, and you'll get a discussion of solar

used to have a lot more pinch hitters and you used to have to change the eighth position more. Now you just have a set of nine guys who just go out and do it more or less, and you have very little change over. So they can cut the roster from 25 to 24 and eventually 23 or 22.

"The way management approaches things, they always try and go at it with your best instead of going at it as though you're a whole team with a camaraderie and letting 25 people play the whole time. That's a form of elitism I really can't stand. I think everyone ought to play. It's a game and when everyone does play, you usually get better results. People are hap-

pier. You feel like you've contributed. When 18 people are carrying the load, you have a feeling of inadequacy."

Lee's pitching strategy puts his criticisms into practice. To him, the perfect game includes as many double plays, walks, fly balls and infield hits as are possible, without letting anyone score, of course. A far cry from the finesse strike-out play of a Nolan Ryan, for example, who, Lee feels, loses some games due to the attitude of the men behind him. Lee says that his fielders enjoy playing with him on the mound because they know they're going to see a lot of action—that they're needed as a team.

Bill Lee dearly loves baseball "between the lines." He's a passionate competitor who is fun to watch at work. "Baseball is one of the old sports where you had to be able to run, hit, throw, catch, do lots of things. Baseball is slow. As far as the game goes between the lines, it's played at a perfect speed. It's all the bullshit on this side of the lines that causes all the problems."

"Games are ways to make time slow down or stop, make time just disappear. We get involved with something like that to lose sight of all your problems in life. But when you leave the park..." When he leaves the park, Lee's mouth gets him in trouble.

When Bernie Carbo, the last of the Pump House Gang (a group of misfits that included Fergie Jenkins and Rick Wise), was traded to Cleveland, Lee exploded. He cleaned out his locker in protest and missed a game he wasn't scheduled to pitch. His isolation on the team was complete. He showed up at Fenway wearing a T-shirt extolling friendship over competition.

Such uncontrolled outbursts of real emotion in the face of having a friend "sold" isn't cool. Lee's teammates shuffled their feet in embarrassment. Zimmer said he shouldn't have ought to have done that. The press had a field day.

But in spite of the uproar, Lee didn't alienate his public. The letters to the sports editor ran in his favor. And Lee fans are not all into anti-heroics. Lee is popular because he comes across as a genuinely nice guy with the guts to retain his individuality.

His baseball assessments are realistic, fair and reasoned. He's not a whiner. When Lee was 4-0 early in the season and pitching a close game, Zimmer pulled him out when Lee developed a blister. The

Continued on next page.



Lee Interview

Continued from
page 19.
slow-starting

Campbell was sent in to relieve. The Sox lost the game.

Even the rarely critical sports press chided Zimmer for his decision. Bill Lee fans were furious. But Lee was blaming himself. "It was my fault we lost that game in Texas. I was going too fast. I was working too fast for my body. I threw too many hard pitches when I should have changed speeds earlier. In that way, when it got into the ninth inning, I would not have had to go out."

"It was my fault. It may not have been the right decision to bring Campbell into that situation because he's trying to come back. You have to break in people in easier situations—maybe if you're three runs ahead or three runs down. It's less pressure on people."

It's hard to keep it slow, even if you recognize the dangers of the pace. "You're playing at a very speeded up pace," says a man who thinks about baseball in a larger context. "The problem with mankind on this planet is that man is the most speeded up organism of all. Everyone else goes at their own natural pace."

Lee's reputation as a wierdo is used to diminish the man as an athlete, to undermine and misrepresent what he says. It's a way to filter out "alternative" ideas and even tastes.

Bill likes punk rock, as he told us on a local radio show. In fact, if he wasn't a ball player, he'd like to be Warren Zevon, the poet of punk, whose *Excitable Boy* is a big Lee favorite:

*Well, he went down to dinner in his Sunday best,
Excitable boy they all said
And he rubbed the pot roast all over his chest,
Excitable boy they all said.*

"I don't think I was that bad, but I was a little bit like that," he says of his childhood.

Lee is a southern California transplant to rocky Yankee soil. He's lean, tan and has a great big toothy smile. His father coached and played baseball and initiated his kid into the pleasures of the game.

"My first memory of baseball was walking around carrying bats and balls and going to the games with him. I didn't like to watch. I enjoyed playing.

"I went through little league and pony league and did terrible. My dad was the coach. We had great teams because he knew talent and loved baseball. His whole life he loved baseball. And he also loved Mexican food. And most of the best players were Mexican-American from the San Fernando Valley and Canoga Park. My best friends were Artie Morales and Vic Miranda and their fathers coached. Their mothers cooked the best Mexican food. We went 36-0 for two years.

"Jalapena peppers and chilies have seven times more vitamin C than an orange.

That's why I'm in better health than most ball players."

In a lot of ways, Bill Lee is a vintage '60s romantic. He quotes Kurt Vonnegut and running guru George Sheehan. He's very concerned about the destruction of the planet and the origins of humankind. He says Marylou Lee is her own person. But for some reason, to most people Bill Lee talks in riddles.

"We're made out of a lot of chemicals and stuff.... You know, there is very little suicide in El Paso, Texas? Because they found that there's a high degree of lithium in the drinking water. They just don't get emotionally upset. They're just kind of more laid back. They oughta definitely pour in a couple billion gallons of that into New York City right now.

"You know," he fantasized, "a nice cab driver picks you up and says, 'Hello, nice day. Nice that you could join me for a ride. Where would you like to go? Would you like to go the scenic way?' You know, people would probably communicate a lot better under lithium."

Lee admires distance runners and vegetarians. The Red Sox continue to prize players whose sideburns are trimmed and who play one-up-manship games trying to beat each other to the ballpark. The whitest team in the game, and increasingly the blandest game in town.

Players with personality, like Mark "The Bird" Fydrich, inspire fans with enormous loyalty and large gate receipts. But management prefers the quiet type. No excitable boys need apply.

Lithium, solar power and sugar aside, Lee takes his position as player representative seriously. And he tries to stay on top of what affects players around the league. I spoke to Lee right after Roger Moret had a catatonic fit in his locker room after a game. The Boston press had been sympathetic, while noting Moret's reputedly low I.Q.

"It affected me tremendously. He's been totally raked over the coals. They tried to take away his benefits and pay and put him on the disabled list. That's like punishing a guy for being ill. He couldn't handle our society. He was just a pawn and people were taking their pound of flesh."

Lee wasn't as clear about the reactions of his teammates. "Well, most of them don't think like that, but a lot of them do but don't say it so I don't know."

Lee is certainly more introspective than most players let on. And he talks about what's important to him, openly and freely. He's very accessible, giving interviews to local community newspapers as well as to the NET television station. He draws crowds of little boys to the softball diamond in Cleveland Circle where he's been known to help out a friend's team. He says he has trouble budgeting his time.

"I believe that we live in a finite universe. I believe in infinity in some respects,

but there's nothing infinite about this planet. But then, everything can be recycled. Trees grow and they die and everything goes on. But we don't work within that system. We work faster than the growth process.

"I believe in limits to growth and limits to growth are just contrary to reinvesting and taking losses to save money. It's like an escalation toward oblivion. But that's the way our system works. It's what corporations do."

No one expected to see Bill Lee back with the Red Sox this year. Talk of a trade was as common as crucial losses last fall. His spring success warded off a deal earlier this season, but now Lee fans are resigned to his inevitable departure. Kansas looks like the next stop.

Baseball isn't an easy life and Lee isn't constitutionally a cheery person. "I'm happy all the time when I stop thinking. But when I do sit down and take anything to the nth degree, I get lonely in-

side....but I love to do it."

During any given conversation, if he's feeling comfortable or ornery, Bill Lee will get a faraway look in his eyes and tell you a seemingly unrelated story. That's probably how he earned his nickname. But the stories are always true, always compassionate and usually sad.

"It's like I'm sitting there in a parked car today and there's an old wino sittin' in an old Chevrolet Malibu, all rusted, rear-view mirror knocked off. And he looked really troubled and I looked down at his hands. He had no fingers. He was there trying to hang onto the wheel. His buddy had gone inside the liquor store to get a fifth."

After an hour of talking with me in the stands before a chilly night game, Bill Lee got up to leave. "I'm going to run," he said. "When I run I get too tired to think."

Anita Diamant writes regularly on sports for IN THESE TIMES.

FEARLESS FORECASTS

MARK NAISON

WORLD SERIES This one is going to be close. The Yankees, when they are healthy, are a tougher team: they are more aggressive hitters and make better contact, are more daring on the basepaths, and have an uncanny ability to make the big play. But the Dodgers have an excellent pitching staff and strong batting order topped by two players: Reggie Smith and Steve Garvey, who hit for power and average. The Yankees need Willie Randolph's hitting and baserunning—and at least two wins from Guidry—to win this year. If Randolph plays, YANKS IN SEVEN; if Randolph is out, DODGERS IN SIX.

ANITA DIAMANT

PREDICTIONS? Who cares. Fully one-eighth of the country has been sighted floating out to sea, shaking its head, sighing about the 100th game we almost won. The lead story on the 11:00 p.m. news ran ten minutes: a subdued, dignified eulogy. Nobody's being a sore loser. But nobody's smiling either—never mind that it was probably the best game of the whole season.

Oh we all expect the Yankees to beat the Royals. And the Dodgers to take the Phillies. Being a sentimental bunch, most Sox fans will root for the memory of beloved bums past and pray—in vain—for an L.A. triumph.

I don't think there's a more home-town game in the country. Once we lost—and it was the classiest loss yet—the rest all seemed anti-climactic.

The wake will be held next week. Condolences and thanks to Carl Yastrzinski.

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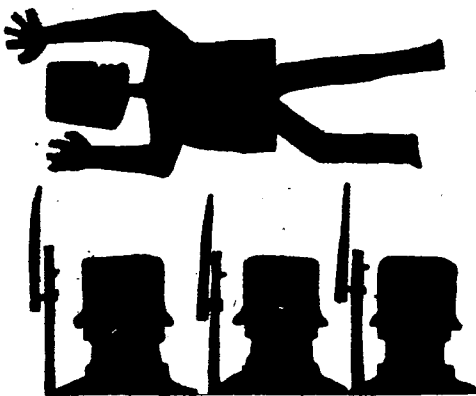
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Documentary retells women's strike story

WITH BABIES AND BANNERS: Story of the Women's Emergency Brigade

Directed by Lorraine Gray
Produced by Anne Bohlen, Lyn Goldfarb, and Gray, for the Women's Labor History Film Project

Distributed by New Day Films,
P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes,
NJ 07417

*It was women that were fighting
As the great strike came to be
The men were at the window
Of a sit-down factory*

So runs the song "Join the CIO" that opens *With Babies and Banners*, a new documentary film about the 1937 Great General Motors Sit-Down Strike in Flint. The strike, which established the United Auto Workers, was the first great CIO victory. This film rescues an almost forgotten aspect of the strike: the Women's Emergency Brigade. The Emergency Brigade was an all-woman, independent para-military organization in the strike, aiding strikers and warding off troops.

In its briskly-paced 45 minutes, *With Babies and Banners* combines fine archival footage with sensitive interviews with nine Brigade veterans.

The filmmakers chose to film the women in their own homes, looking for all the world like a group of old ladies getting together for tea. But the occasion was the 40th anniversary celebration of the strike. And these women's filmed reminiscences fill in a major gap of labor history: not only what the strike meant for women, but what the work meant as well.

Hard work, hard times.

Women remember sexual abuse on the job. They remember too that they were expected to work at lower wages than men, in less safe conditions, at even more tedious tasks. The wives of the workers were no better off, sequestered in their homes with no support except the church.

When union organizing started the companies planted suspicion in wives' minds over their husbands' inexplicable absences. Thus the start of the strike on Dec. 30, 1936, divided women and men on two fronts: women working in the factories were sent home to defeat newsmen eager for sex-scandal-in-the-sit-down scoops, and women at home were inclined to argue their husbands back to the family. Genora Johnson (Dollinger) had the idea of organizing a Women's Emergency Brigade.

Long-lost films of women in the factories and some kitchens and streets accompany the women's stories. Much footage was discovered in a closet of the Textile Workers Union, which had employed a staff photographer to film daily life.

"We had an incredible time finding footage of women working," Lyn Goldfarb explained.



Women renewed 40-year-old friendships during filming.

had it not been for the education and the know-how that they gave us, we wouldn't have been able to do it."

Producer Goldfarb admitted that the film benefitted from criticisms of another New Day film, *Union Maids*, the excellent documentary that omitted the real affiliations of its three union women. Goldfarb explained that the filmmakers wanted to give credit to the Socialist and Communist parties, although she emphasized, "most of these women were rank and file...and most of the rank and file wasn't SP or CP; that's why it all fell apart so fast afterward."

A curious aftertaste.

Late in the afternoon, as Genora Johnson Dollinger watched the film once again, I talked with Lyn Goldfarb about a curious aftertaste the film had left of something gone amiss.

Here were women who were not ideological in their thinking, but were politicized by a dramatic event in their lives. They rose to the occasion, but 40 years later had nearly forgotten an incident that seemed unconnected to the rest of their lives.

"Yes," Goldfarb agreed. "It's really the failure of the left in this country. You get people to the point where they're willing to change and then...give them rhetoric."

With Babies and Banners breaks that cycle. It is free of rhetoric, and intent on learning history to avoid repeating it. The Women's Labor History Film Project is dedicated to making films "for social change." One hopes that public and union response to this first product will enable them to survive.

—B. Ruby Rich

With Babies and Banners has just been screened at the New York Film Festival, and will premiere in Chicago on Oct. 28 with screenings in Boston and San Francisco soon thereafter.

B. Ruby Rich writes frequently about film in *Jump/Cut*, the *Chicago Reader* and other places.

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IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

London holds a special place in the annals of modern ballet history. From 1911 to 1929 the English capital was a second home to Diaghilev's legendary Ballets Russes. The Ballets Russes was the first modern ballet company and the channel through which the Russian ballet heritage passed to the West.

Diaghilev repaid to London to replenish his depleted corps, thus creating the first generation of Russian-trained Western dancers. It was London that witnessed the first full-length Russian classic ever performed in the West—the ill-fated 1921 production of Petipa's *Sleeping Beauty*.

It was in London too that Diaghilev laid the foundation for a popular audience for ballet. Tamara Karsavina, long his leading and most beloved ballerina, recalled a postal clerk among her most fervent admirers. In 1931, when Lilian Bayliss, then director of the Sadler Wells Theatre, daringly alternated ballet evenings with Shakespeare, she was astonished to discover numerous enthusiasts among the five-shilling public.

Successful, but expensive.

In these modest beginnings the Royal Ballet had its birth. Today, the once struggling troupe ranks as a major international company. It plays to long sold-out houses at Covent Garden and boasts a seven-figure budget largely underwritten by the government.

Like the stately homes that dot the English countryside, the Royal Ballet is a national monument; like most ballet companies, it is a financial loss. Yet few Britishers would argue against either the principle or need for government subsidy. Many, however, do question the effect of current policy on smaller, more experimental groups which find Arts Council grants increasingly hard to come by. People question, as well, paying taxes to subsidize an art few can afford to see.

By New York standards ticket prices at Covent Garden are high. A seat in the stalls goes for nine pounds (\$17.50 at the current rate of exchange) while the cheapest seat fetches 1.5 pounds (almost \$3).

But the real cost is much high-



Edward Gorey

DANCE

Once-popular art plays to few, costs much

London now is a fading Empress of ballet, and an unabashed colonial of modern dance.



Jules Feiffer

er. English salaries are roughly a third what they are in the U.S. and personal income taxes are considerably higher. For the schoolteacher grossing less than \$8,000 a year or a factory worker earning under \$100 for a 40-hour week, Covent Garden is no average night's entertainment.

At London's second-string Festival Ballet, access is viewed as intrinsic to audience growth. Like various orchestral groups which share the south bank performing arts complex, the LFB keeps ticket prices down (top is five pounds) and actively recruits new audiences among hospital workers and other groups. To LFB policy-makers, however, "popular" translates as "unsophisticated"; the experimental fare of the company's early seasons has disappeared.

Once creative, now entrenched.

The remarkable success of the Ballets Russes was due in no small measure to the brilliance of its collaborators. Stravinsky was perhaps Diaghilev's greatest discovery. He gave Picasso his first stage commission when the Spanish painter was generally unknown. Cocteau was for many years a trusted advisor who wrote libretti as well. Indeed, the list of Diaghilev's collaborators reads like a who's who of international

modernism.

Little remains of his legacy. Experimentation has dried up in the face of a pervasive and entrenched academism. Few of his works remain in the repertory apart from the tried and true crowd-pleasers, and these in corrupted form and none too well performed.

Equally disturbing is the Royal Ballet's decision to ban guest artists. The announcement comes at a time of rising public sentiment against foreigners. With the decline of the pound, London has become the bargain basement of Europe. Continental and Mid-eastern tourists crowd Oxford Street department stores. With the influx of petrodollars, Londoners complain of prime real estate passing into the hands of wealthy Arabs.

The Royal's management (like the American Ballet Theater) has been sharply criticized in the past for favoring foreign stars over British talent. Controversy now rages in the letter columns of *Dance and Dancers* over the latest decision.

To the extent that the new policy creates greater opportunities for the company's own dancers, the decision is indeed laudable. For many, however, it merely rubber-stamps what others confess privately: that London is "becoming a typically English, narrow-minded backwater."

Ballet, modern dance and sport.

The Ballets Russes coincided with the beginnings of modern dance and growing interest in physical culture. Diaghilev made dance a respected art form, and Isadora Duncan identified dance with a deeply personal and feminist vision. Proponents of physical culture provided the idea of dance as a participatory or "contact" sport.

In the U.S., where these strands have crossed and re-crossed over the past decades, dance as a result exists across a broad spectrum—from high level performance ensembles to adult education classes in body conditioning. In Europe, however, the dividing line between "professional" and "amateur" is a rigid one. Professional schools are few and entry difficult. Studios where aspiring dancers might mingle with the figure-conscious are hard to come by. On a university level, no equivalent exists to the American college dance department, which created an immense and knowledgeable audience for the new art form.

Although ballet has had powerful impact on modern dance in America in the last ten years, the latter has never lost the radical edge associated with it. Concealed as a uniquely "American" as opposed to "European"

form, it drew on the radical individualism of Whitman and pre-Bohemian anarchism. During the '30s modern dancers performed for radical groups, taught at progressive settlement houses, and formed a WPA-funded producing unit. Modern dance continues to be identified with feminism: women are not merely performers, but its critics, choreographers and visionaries.

Into the mainstream from above.

Modern dance is no longer an "American" phenomenon. Major companies exist the world over. England, for example, boasts a first-class ensemble, the London Contemporary Dance Company which has been instrumental in introducing Graham technique to both British dancers and public.

But that is precisely the difference between modern dance as it exists in the U.S. and the direction it has taken in Europe. What has been imported has been a technique, significantly referred to in Britain as "modern ballet": the radical and feminist impulse has been lost.

Thus, modern dance has entered the European mainstream from above rather than below, as a foreign import rather than a home-grown movement. This accounts for its strikingly academic rather than eclectic character and the fact that dancers and choreographers spend long periods training and working in the U.S. Ironically, it is on European ballet companies that modern dance has had its greatest impact, through the many American dancers and choreographers—trained in both the classical and modern idioms—working in Europe's state-subsidized theaters.

In the area of dance, Europe is today a fading Empress and unabashed colonial. Its opera ballets are relics of aristocratic glamour while its experimental troupes assume the poses of an imported avant garde. New York's extraordinary vitality, where of a night one can sample anything from *Swan Lake* to Pepsi Bethel's Authentic Jazz Theatre, is sadly missing. —Lynn Garafola
Lynn Garafola lives in London and writes about dance for IN THESE TIMES.

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St. Paul's Church, 655 Fullerton
Free Admission

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PUBLICATIONS

GRASP LENINIST THOUGHT: FORGE BOLSHEVIK TACTICS. Rigorous Leninist analysis of the political economy of finance-monopoly-capital underpins a concrete critique of the tactical misadventures of the American left. Send \$1 to REVSOCSF, P.O. Box 16235, San Francisco, CA 94116.

OCTOBER JEWISH CURRENTS—Editorial: "AFTER CAMP DAVID"; "The Woman Question in Israel" by Vivian Gornick, "A Dissident on Bakke" by Justice Thurgood Marshall, "Combatting Stalinism in Poland" by Michael Mirski. Single copy, 60¢. Subscription \$7.50 yearly USA. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17th St., NYC 10003. Pamphlet by Schappes "Irving Howe's 'The World of Our Fathers' A Critical Analysis." Send 60¢. Special—A TEN YEAR HARVEST, Third Jewish Currents Reader, 1966-1976, 300 pp., paperback, \$3.75.

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FILM

Girlfriends' success shows 'new women's film' is growing up

Girlfriends, one of the first films by and for women to get major studio distribution, is a friendly, modest film. It is affectionate, ironic and self-effacing. It is comfortable and steadfast, like the friendships which have gradually become commonplace among women in the last decade, with the development of the women's movement. Director Claudia Weill (she photographed and co-directed *The Other Half of the Sky*) and scriptwriter Vicki Polon spent almost three years crowding funds to make this film.

Girlfriends is peopled with characters who are likeable and familiar: Susan, a struggling young photographer and self-described emotional "turtle"; her roommate, Anne, an aspiring but dilettantish writer who marries a direct and slightly stuffy Martin; a mild-mannered Rabbi who tells gentle, corny Jewish jokes; and Eric, Susan's droll and skittish boyfriend.

Of the works which fall loosely into the emerging genre of "New Women's Films," *Girlfriends* is, to date, the most credible attempt to represent the experience and concerns of contemporary women. Some recent films in this category are *An Unmarried Woman* by Paul Mazursky, Irving Kershner and Jon Peters' *Eyes of Laura Mars* and Agnes Varda's *One Sings, the Other Doesn't*. Each of these deals, in one way or another, with the relation of women to work, love and friendship—and with far more lavish resources than those available to Claudia Weill. Yet none has been able to render its subject with more integrity or accuracy.

An Unmarried Woman is the product of Paul Mazursky's decent impulse to portray a woman reaching beyond her socialization, without the claptrap about the "Liberated Ms." currently being hyped in every corner of the media. The film even actively resists the temptation to fall for this new mystique. Although Mazursky's Erica, as played by Jill Clayburgh, refuses to fall for this particularly insidious mystification, she does succumb to fairytales. Mazursky's imagination can only stretch so far. In the end, Erica allows herself to be rescued by a gorgeous, albeit sensitive and creative, Prince.

Not even this much can be said of Kershner's attempt, or that of Varda's. What can be said of the frighteningly self-sufficient character which Faye Dunaway has honed to steely perfection, first in *Network* and now in *Eyes*, except that she gets what she deserves? Clearly, if we are to believe these filmmakers, talent and independence in a woman are dangerous and, ultimately, murderous. The fruits of such a woman's risk-taking and labors are, at best, loneliness and neurosis, and at worst, pursuit by a psychopathic killer.

One Sings, the Other Doesn't disappoints in another direction entirely. It is a pretty, pious and soft-headed mystification of "women's consciousness" which resembles nothing so much as a

feature length ad for feminine deodorant products. It is filled with hokum about finding fulfillment and liberation with a roving women's rock band and the unquestionable necessity of abandoning male children to their Iranian fathers.

Claudia Weill's *Girlfriends* avoids the pitfalls of these other films, and does so with considerable grace and good humor. The vocabulary of women's experience beyond marriage and maternity has been a long time in the making. And Claudia Weill's rendering of it rings quite true. Her film carefully lays out the consequences of the choices available to increasing numbers of women—at least as those choices appear in this country in the latter half of the 1970s.

On the one hand, Anne opts for marriage, motherhood, and security, only to face the frustration of her inadequately-tested ambitions. On the other, Susan throws herself headlong into the pursuit of work and recognition. Susan's choice, like Anne's, may contain its own satisfactions. Susan must face the very real possibility of a lifetime of loneliness.

Girlfriends is a close rendering of the minutiae of daily life for the significant portion of the American population that is female, white, educated, urban and middle class. The details add up, but regrettably, the whole amounts to exactly the sum of its parts, and no more than that.

Its earnest attempt to be perfectly honest, perfectly concrete and down-to-earth, to avoid sensationalism, or the ideological preachiness of other "women's" films, becomes, in the end, doggedly anti-dramatic. It avoids taking up the larger, more loaded issues inherent to its subject matter—specifically those dealing with the passions, whether they be sexual, social or political. The heated personal and ideological struggles of women in the last ten years have been reduced (and not only in this film) to the private matters of work, personal ambition, friendship, and finances. Is that really all there is to the enormous heaving and shaking which has gripped the society around the relations between women and work, among women themselves, and between them and men? I think not, and the film suffers from this lack.

Just as *Girlfriends* is a film, at least in part, about friendship, it is also like a friendship—an old friendship which has cooled and no longer reverberates with shared delight and anguish. Perhaps the cause lies in the fact that this film, like the social changes it addresses, has been so long in coming—so long in the acquisition of requisite skills, financing, and distribution—as to seem a little behind the times. Perhaps if it could have been made earlier, it might have been rawer, more strident, less civilized, but it also might have had more immediacy, cut closer to the bone of experience.

—Gina Blumenfeld

Gina Blumenfeld is a writer and filmmaker living in New York.



Friends make personal film

Vicki Polon wrote the script for *Girlfriends* between 1975 and 1977. Last week she talked to Pat Aufderheide about the film.

What did you want to do with this film?

We wanted to illustrate a relationship between two girlfriends, in which each one sees the other as having more, as having—remember that quote from Katherine Mansfield that comes up in the movie—"a more passionate connection to life." It's a "grass is greener" thing.

Why did you choose to make a film about girlfriends?

Why not? Nobody's really told it like it is. Nobody's put that relationship on screen. It was a topic very close to home—and it's never been done by girlfriends before. There were personal and important feelings going on.

You and Claudia Weill [the director] are old friends?

We are professional friends; we work together.

GIRLFRIENDS, you say, is about a relationship, but the film pays more attention to Susan than to Anne. Why?

Both Claudia and I identified more with the Susan character. We knew we had to do the story more from one person's point of view than from the other. Yes, the script did lean toward Susan. I feel more familiar with her circumstances, having never had a child and never having been married myself.

Still, everyone can experience the situation of Anne—not seeing your girlfriend because you're seeing your boyfriend, for instance, that's a situation I know.

The characters fit stereotypes of the Midwestern WASP and the New York Jew. Did you intend to do that?

It was never set out as "Let's do a WASP and a Jew," no. I remembered that Claudia had a friend in college who was a WASP. She wasn't Anne, and she wasn't a poet, though. We said first, "Let's make a movie about girlfriends." It had nothing to do with their religion.

You pose a dichotomy, family vs. career...

INTERVIEW

Women who make films can also make money.

It's not that clear-cut. After all, Anne wants a career also, she wants to write. She takes it seriously, but it's hard for her. To say it's a dichotomy, a *Turning Point*, is an oversimplified way of looking at the film. A lot more goes on between the characters than that.

The ending seems abrupt. What did you want to say?

Susan is by herself. But it's also the beginning of a new relationship between Susan and Anne. It's two girls sharing a secret, when they have that conspiratorial giggle as Anne's husband walks up the drive. It looks like Susan and Anne will become friends again on a very different level.

How did you get a large studio to distribute your film?

They saw it, and liked it. It's that simple. It's a good film. If a picture is really good, people want to look at it, and it will get distribution. Warner Brothers picked up the film after it was finished.

Then you think films get chosen on their merits? How about a woman's film about two women's friendship, Mireille Dancser's *DREAMLIFE*, which didn't show in commercial theaters?

I haven't seen it, so I don't know if it's good. But people want to watch good films, and it's good business. *Girlfriends* is doing very well. Warner Brothers is very pleased with how the film is doing.

What do you think the impact of the film will be?

It will encourage independent filmmakers to do what they want to do. That's its major impact. It shows that independent films have a place, that people can do it. [Independently-made films are indeed important to the industry. *Variety* shows, from January to late September only 62 major studio film projects were begun, while independent film starts totaled 103—P.A.]

Women who make films can also make films that make money. This film is special because it was written, produced and directed by women, and in that sense it's a breakthrough movie. It was done on a low budget, too, something like half a million dollars.

I'm working on a script for a film I will direct, and I'm pleased to think that Claudia and I, working separately, can now double the amount of good movies made on this level. I hope we can be an encouragement to a lot of people.

CULTURE SHOCK

LOVE AND MONEY

After finding the geisha and the wife "still the two paths that are open to women," Linda Ronstadt in last week's *Rolling Stone* declared, "Women do seem to be by nature more inclined to be monogamous. I'm going to incur the wrath of every women's rights person, but I just think that

that's more of a natural inclination." She may incur even more wrath for her cheesecake photos with the interview.

RUSSIAN FEVER

The Voice of America is beaming disco music into the Soviet Union, reports *Billboard*. They jam our frequencies, we jam their minds.

AMONG THE STARS

Richard Dreyfuss, owner of a \$30,000 Mercedes and a \$1.5-million-per-film actor, keeps up an egalitarian outlook. He told *Esquire*, "It's hard, but it's possible. My politics are still the same. Look, Eugene Debs never said we shouldn't be comfortable. He just said we all should be comfortable."

Gedung Tribune



Huge portrait of Mao was backdrop for requiem.

By Thomas Brom

"Revisionists are revisionists and must not be supported! Revolutionaries are revolutionaries and must be supported!"

The broadcast songs of revolutionary China swept across the sunny plaza outside Berkeley's Community Theater, attracting the curious and the faithful to the West Coast Mao Tse-tung Memorial.

The Revolutionary Communist Party U.S.A (RCP) was out in force recently to celebrate the second anniversary of Mao's death, and to denounce the current Chinese leadership as "revisionist and capitalist-roaders."

China's rapid changes in domestic and foreign policies have left many former supporters in the United States gasping. The RCP, largest Maoist organization in this country, waited two years before formally breaking with the Chinese leadership this September.

But a sense of incongruity pervaded the Mao Tse-tung Memorial from its elaborate start to finish. Maybe it was the wholesale adoption of Chinese-style rhetoric assumed by the predominantly white, middle-class organization. Maybe it was the studied militance and posturing under the warm California sun or the ponderous solemnity of the occasion.

Whatever the cause, Berkeley's Mao Tse-tung Memorial moved dangerously close to the Twilight Zone.

The steps to the Community Theater were cordoned off, like the waiting lines in a bank, into winding trails leading to the front doors. Black-beretted security guards, each wearing red T-shirts with Mao's picture printed on the back, were everywhere.

People filed through the narrow rope corridors in small groups, carefully separated by the security forces.

"No more than four tickets will be sold together," a security guard announced. "You will be searched before entering the building. This will be for your own protection."

Women in two separated ticket windows sold the carefully numbered and coded tickets, one window for English-speaking people, the other with ticket information in Chinese, Persian and Spanish.

At the front doors, more security guards patted down each person entering the hall. They looked in the cuffs of pants and under shirt collars as well as the usual places. Next, another set

Americans throw Mao a Party in his memory

of guards scanned people head to toe with a metal detector, even checking the soles of shoes.

One young man had to check his small pocket knife with the security office. Before long the security window had a small pile of assorted pen knives and metal objects, as well as camera equipment forbidden in the hall.

Ushers wearing yellow Mao Tse-tung T-shirts and red bands escorted people into the auditorium in groups of twos and threes. Ticket numbers and sales were staggered so that groups of people were scattered throughout the hall, preventing the possibility of caucusing or demonstrating against what was to follow.

Each person received a program and a sheaf of literature. Inside the folder was a notice that the program would last approximately four hours and that there would be no intermission or other interruptions. Any questions of the speakers had to be written on small white cards and passed to the ushers.

The interior decorations were awesome. Red banners, each with revolutionary slogans printed in English, Persian, Spanish and Chinese, hung from the walls and balconies.

"Hail the heroic efforts of the four who fought to uphold Mao's revolutionary lines and the proletarian rule in China."

Simultaneous translation into Chinese, Persian and Spanish was offered in special sections of the auditorium.

The stage was festooned with red bunting and flanked by rows of elaborate floral displays on each side. The curtains high above held huge pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Smaller pictures of the "Gang of Four" were pinned to the curtains beside the stage. It looked like a church service, a memorial mass for a dead pope.

The crowd of nearly 1,000 hushed as eight spotlights pinpointed the faces of the heroes tacked to the stage curtains. Something spectacular ob-

viously was about to happen.

The curtains opened slowly, then swept back with deliberate ceremony. Huge versions of three slogans were spread across a red paper backdrop. Immediately above the speaker's podium was a gigantic portrait of Mao—expressionless, patient and watchful. The crowd paused, then responded with prolonged, enthusiastic applause.

Bill Klingel, a member of the RCP Central Committee, began the program with a recitation of slogans denouncing the current Chinese leadership and praising the life and work of Mao.

Two members of a group called Prairie Fire sang of their trip to the People's Republic several years ago, comparing their impressions of Hong Kong with the achievements of China just across the border.

A film, *The Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time*, followed, and then a slide show, "Mao Tse-tung's Last Great Battle." Prairie Fire reappeared.

Then it was time for the main event, an address by Robert Avakian, chairman of the Central Committee. He walked across the stage carrying a briefcase. Avakian, a small man whose head barely rose above the speaker's podium, cleared his throat and shouted in a giant voice, reiterating the slogans and Chinese-style imprecations previously hurled at China's leaders. He described with special vehemence "the stink emanating from Teng Hsiao-ping" and he attacked Hua Kuo-fung, Lin Piao, Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai. Avakian said that "Chou En-lai did not understand the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Avakian recounted the sell-out of the Chinese people, beginning in 1949 and continuing through the Cultural Revolution. He found many deviations from the current communist line. He denounced "goulash communism" and advocated "meat-and-potatoes communism." He spoke more than three hours, while many people shifted in their chairs and others filed out of the auditorium.

In those three hours, Avakian scarcely mentioned American working people. He never mentioned the changing social and economic conditions of the U.S. He never related China's current turmoil to the American reality just outside the theater doors. He wanted justice for Albania.

So it had come to this. Albania, supposedly carrying the unsullied veil of Marxism-Leninism like a sacred relic in a corrupt world. Albania and Mao Tse-Tung.

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Tom Brom is an editor for PNS and contributes to IN THESE TIMES.

American Maoists, mincing no words, reject goulash archipelago in favor of meat and potatoes communism.